NOVEMBER 20, 2017

TIME

# The Next Leader Of Europe*

*If Only He Can Lead France

AN INTERVIEW WITH 39-YEAR-OLD PRESIDENT **EMMANUEL MACRON**

BY VIVIENNE WALT

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VOL. 190, NO. 21 | 2017

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*President Macron, shadowed by his Labrador retriever Nemo, welcomes a visitor to the Élysée Palace on Aug. 28*

*Photograph by Christophe Morin—IP3/Getty Images*

**ON THE COVER:** *Emmanuel Macron in the Élysée Palace on Nov. 7. Photograph by Nadav Kander for TIME*

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*Macron, at right, meets with TIME's Felsenthal and Walt in Paris on Nov. 7*

# The Last Globalist

FIFTY-FOUR YEARS ago, TIME's cover featured a President of France who had a vision for a French-led world order, a tendency to speak bluntly and a penchant for pomp. The story, which ran with the cover line "The Perils of Grandeur," chronicled Charles de Gaulle's determination to "give Europe a new voice, direction, and self-assurance."

Today the cause of a common Europe faces another identity crisis—and, in France's 39-year-old President Emmanuel Macron, it has a new champion. Hosting Vladimir Putin at Versailles and parading the Champs-Élysées in an open-topped military vehicle, Macron is determined to remind the world what French international leadership looks like. And as the U.S. and Germany increasingly focus inward, he has become the West's most vocal proponent of globalism—in six months on the job.

Paris-based correspondent Vivienne Walt and I sat down with Macron in his office at the Élysée Palace. In a wide-ranging interview, we discussed Donald Trump (Twitter is "not compatible with the kind of distance you need to govern," he said); his much-talked-about marriage ("current convention was not consistent with my choice"); and European leadership ("Our generation will not have the luxury just to manage Europe. We will have to refound it"). Above all, what came through was his optimism about a new generation of leaders who can rise above the nationalism of the moment and the failures of "tired and cynical people."

The peril, of which Macron is well aware, is that his global ambitions will fail without an economic overhaul in his own country, where he has been criticized for unwinding cherished labor protections. "Your voice is not even listened to if you don't perform at home," he says.

You can watch the interview at **time.com/macron** and read Viv's story on page 26.

Edward

*Edward Felsenthal,*
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
@EFELSENTHAL

## Life Recovered

America's opioid epidemic is the deadliest drug crisis in U.S. history, with drug overdoses claiming more lives last year than car accidents or gun violence. The toll, as a White House commission put it, is the equivalent of a new 9/11 attack every three weeks. To help cover this critical moment, TIME partnered with digital media company Mic to produce *Life After Addiction,* featuring the remarkable story of a couple whose fateful overdose went viral—before leading to a chance at redemption. Read the story on page 40 and watch the documentary at **time.com/addiction**

**A YEAR IN SPACE** Continuing where the Emmy-winning TIME and PBS documentary *A Year in Space* left off, the new special *Beyond a Year in Space* follows astronaut Scott Kelly's return to Earth after his record-breaking stay on the International Space Station—and introduces a few of the people, like Jessica Meir *(above),* who are training to take the next steps in extreme space exploration. Catch the premiere on Nov. 15 on PBS.

MACRON: JONATHAN WOODS FOR TIME; LIFE RECOVERED: JEFFREY STOCKBRIDGE FOR TIME; SPACE: PBS

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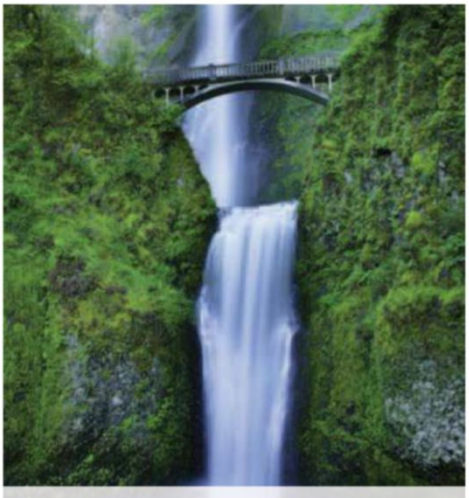
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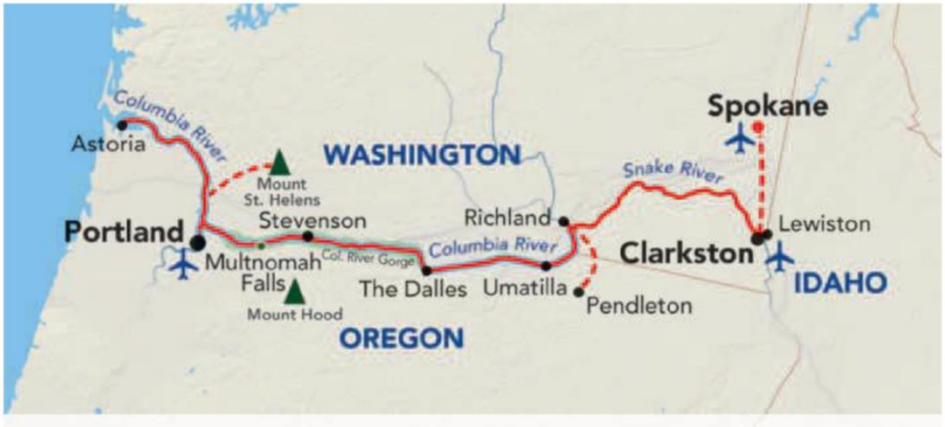

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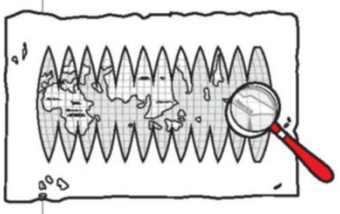
# ‘Wherever you walked in the church, there was death.’

**JOE TACKITT JR.**, sheriff of Wilson County in Texas, recounting the scene after a gunman killed 26 people at the First Baptist Church in Sutherland Springs on Nov. 5 and injured 20 more



## 510

Age of the **new oldest piece of writing to use the word *America,*** according to Christie’s auction house, which on Dec. 13 is selling the two-dimensional printed globe made by a German cartographer

**IUDs**
A new study says users of the device are about 30% less likely to get cervical cancer

**GOOD WEEK**
**BAD WEEK**

***I*’s**
Apple tried to fix a glitch that auto-corrected the letter to an exclamation point

# ‘I KNEW IT WAS A GOOD SOUND.’

**GEORGE SPRINGER**, outfielder for the Houston Astros and the 2017 World Series MVP, describing the home run he hit in the team’s Game 7 victory over the Los Angeles Dodgers, which helped lead to the Major League Baseball franchise’s first championship

## 11

Minutes for which **President Donald Trump’s Twitter handle was deactivated** on the night of Nov. 2; the company said the action was taken by an employee leaving Twitter the same day

## $123 million

Money **made by *Thor: Ragnarok* in North America alone** on its opening weekend; before its release New Zealander director Taika Waititi’s films had made $12.8 million worldwide

# *‘Save your money, here it is for free.’*

**SIA**, pop star, tweeting a blurry nude photo of herself after finding that a member of the paparazzi was “apparently trying to sell naked photos of me to my fans”; the singer-songwriter is known for guarding her privacy and often wears wigs that conceal her face

# ‘IT COMMITTED A BRUTAL JUDICIAL OFFENSIVE.’

**CARLES PUIGDEMONT**, deposed president of Catalonia, accusing the Spanish government of misconduct in ousting him and his cabinet colleagues after the region declared independence on Oct. 27; Puigdemont also expressed skepticism they would receive a fair trial after being charged with rebellion, sedition and misuse of public funds

## ‘It makes sense for North Korea to come to the table.’

**DONALD TRUMP**, President of the United States, advocating for negotiations in a joint press conference with South Korean President Moon Jae-in on Nov. 7, breaking from Trump’s historically confrontational rhetoric regarding North Korea’s nuclear program

SOURCES: NEW YORK TIMES, GUARDIAN, ASSOCIATED PRESS

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

# The Brief

*'TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS IS NOT A PATHWAY TO U.S. CITIZENSHIP.'* —PAGE 12

*Virginian Ralph Northam celebrates his gubernatorial win with fellow Democrats on Nov. 7*

REUTERS

POLITICS

## Voters deliver a big win for Democrats, and a blow to Trump

**By Molly Ball and Philip Elliott**

THE TRUMP BACKLASH HAS BEGUN. One year after their stinging defeat, Democrats bounced back in the off-year elections on Nov. 7 with a surprise sweep from coast to coast, delivering an ominous rebuke to an unpopular President and his party.

By resounding margins, Democratic candidates took the marquee gubernatorial races in Virginia and New Jersey. But those triumphs were only the start of a blue wave that crashed across the map. Democrats won control of the Washington state senate and ushered in the first Democratic mayor of Manchester, N.H., in 14 years. They passed progressive ballot measures in Maine and New York; won key local races in Georgia and Florida; and elected a slate of candidates that mirrored the diversity of the party, from Ravi Bhalla, the first Sikh to become a mayor in New Jersey, to Virginia's Danica Roem, the first person to run and win a legislative seat as an openly transgender individual. "We are taking our country back from Donald Trump, one election at a time," crowed Tom Perez, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

For the beleaguered party, it was the first proof that the anti-Trump fervor that has galvanized the President's opponents could be channeled into significant election victories. Until this week, despite Trump's abysmal approval rating and a gridlocked GOP Congress, the opposition had failed to notch a win at the ballot box. Throughout 2017,

PHOTOGRAPH BY AARON P. BERNSTEIN

Democratic candidates running in congressional special elections in red states had narrowed margins but fallen short of victory. Democrats have yet to show they can win in GOP strongholds. But the off-year election wave was a sign that antipathy to the Trump Administration is a force powerful enough to shake the nation in 2018 and beyond.

The election returns reflected surging enthusiasm among college-educated suburbanites, minorities and women. Turnout was up 16% over four years ago in Virginia, where Democrat Ralph Northam, the commonwealth's lieutenant governor, won an unexpectedly easy nine-point victory over Ed Gillespie, a Republican lobbyist and former national party chairman. The moderate Northam had ended his campaign on a messy note, with progressive organizations denouncing his pledge to sign legislation barring the establishment of so-called "sanctuary cities" that do not enforce federal immigration laws. But just as a divided and rudderless GOP succeeded in the Obama era, the Democrats' internal dramas may not matter if public opinion keeps cresting in their favor.

The elections also were a testing ground for tactics the left hopes to take national in next year's midterms. In a bid to rebuild the party's bench, new grassroots groups like Indivisible, Run for Something, Swing Left and Flippable poured money, volunteers and tech savvy into low-profile contests. Last December, a prosecutor in suburban Seattle named Manka Dhingra, disturbed by the presidential election, attended her first Democratic Party meeting. On Nov. 7, she won a Republican-held seat in the Washington state senate, flipping control of the chamber. She called her win a rejection of "the politics of tribalism, misinformation and mistrust."

In Virginia, more than 30 different organizations coordinated to contact more than a million voters. The party's 88 state legislative candidates nearly doubled the previous field. The result—more than a dozen delegate seats flipped from Republican to Democrat—could, pending local recounts, swing the chamber from a Republican supermajority to narrow Democratic control.

It is these down-ballot races that have given Democrats hope of taking back the U.S. House of Representatives with next year's elections. Republicans had dominated the Virginia House of Delegates in part by drawing legislative maps that aided their candidates. Democrats will have to overcome similar obstacles to defeat congressional incumbents in Republican-friendly territory. That prospect, once improbably, looks brighter now. "For the first time since last November," one giddy Democratic strategist says, "the sky is above us and the ground is below us."

Beyond the results themselves were even graver signs for the GOP. Only 40% of Virginia voters said they approved of how the President was doing his job, and 34% said they cast their ballot to send a signal of their opposition. Six in 10 voters said they had an unfavorable view of the Republican Party. Health care was the top issue of Virginia voters, according to exit polls, and those concerned about it overwhelmingly voted for Democrats—a sign that Republicans are taking the blame for their failure to reform the health-care system. In Maine, a ballot measure calling for the expansion of Medicaid won easily, over the objections of the state's Republican governor and an ugly campaign that cast it as a welfare handout.

Despondent Republicans worry that their predicament may only get worse. They fear that the voters who said Trump needed some time to get his sea legs are beginning to go wobbly on him. Special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation into Russia's involvement with the President and his campaign may continue to dog the GOP all the way to the midterms. Strategists are comparing the looming threat to the ethics scandals that hobbled the party in the 2006, helping hand Democrats majorities in the House and Senate. The rage Trump channeled to win the White House doesn't translate naturally to governing, and lawmakers have struggled to deliver on their promises to an angry base. The challenge is one reason the GOP is seeing a wave of retirements: already 29 current House Republicans and three GOP Senators have left or are leaving their jobs.

All this is especially bad news for the Republicans running in the 23 districts that also supported Hillary Clinton last year. Each of them will have to make the tough call next year of whether to strike the same edgy chords that carried the President into office. For his part, Gillespie, despite his establishment credentials, ran TV ads castigating immigrants for job losses and blaming Hispanic gangs for violence. In the weeks after a white-nationalist march on Charlottesville, Va., erupted in violence, he defended Confederate monuments as the last vestiges of tradition. At the same time, he sought to differentiate himself from the President, rarely uttering his name on the campaign trail. Gillespie learned you can't be half-pregnant when it comes to the President.

Moments after the loss, Trump weighed in from Asia, blaming the candidate's defeat on his unwillingness to fully embrace the President and his brand of politics. But if this week's results are to be believed, there is indeed a Trump effect—and it's helping the Democrats. ◻

## A DIVERSE GROUP OF WINNERS

**DANICA ROEM**
*VIRGINIA*
Defeated a 25-year GOP incumbent—the author of the commonwealth's so-called bathroom bill—to became the first person to run and win a legislative seat as an openly transgender individual

**CHRIS HURST**
*VIRGINIA*
Defeated a three-term, NRA-endorsed incumbent in a campaign launched after his girlfriend was fatally shot on live TV in 2015

**RAVI BHALLA**
*NEW JERSEY*
Elected mayor of Hoboken, becoming the first Sikh mayor in the Garden State

**VI LYLES**
*NORTH CAROLINA*
Elected the first black female mayor of Charlotte

**JOYCE CRAIG**
*NEW HAMPSHIRE*
Became the first woman to be elected mayor of Manchester, the largest city in the bellwether Granite State, as well as the first Democrat to win the post in 14 years

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**DIRE STRAITS** A man who was attempting to cross the Mediterranean Sea waits to be rescued by the German NGO Sea-Watch on Nov. 6 after the dinghy he was in sank, leaving five people dead. Sea-Watch, which rescued 58 people, says the Libyan coast guard caused panic by "beating and threatening" passengers. Libyan officials said the German boat disrupted rescue efforts "despite our appeals." *Photograph by Alessio Paduano—AFP/Getty Images*

WORLD

## The Paradise Papers shine a light on offshore finances

A LEAK OF 13.4 MILLION LEGAL DOCUments, dubbed the "Paradise Papers," was released on Nov. 5, detailing largely legal yet secretive offshore financial activities of some of the world's biggest companies and wealthiest individuals. Here, a sample of its major revelations:

**POLITICS** The leaks revealed Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross *(right)* holds a stake in a shipping firm, Navigator, that does business with a Russian oligarch subject to U.S. sanctions, and with the son-in-law of Russian President Vladimir Putin. Ross disputes the claim that he failed to disclose the holding to Congress, and said there was "nothing wrong" with his investment.

**BIG BUSINESS** Russian billionaire Yuri Milner invested in Facebook and Twitter with funding from state-controlled Russian banks, according to the Paradise Papers. Long after selling his stakes in the social-media giants, he went on to invest in a startup co-owned by senior White House adviser Jared Kushner. Milner's venture-capital firm DST Global said its investors have "no influence" over companies it invests in.

**ROYALS** Millions of dollars from Queen Elizabeth's private estate, known as the Duchy of Lancaster, were invested in offshore funds in the Cayman Islands and Bermuda. Some of it went to BrightHouse, a retailer criticized for exploiting poor people with high-interest loans. The estate said it was unaware of the investment until the papers were released. —TARA JOHN

## TICKER

### *Report: Weinstein hired investigators*

Harvey Weinstein hired a team of investigators, including former Mossad agents, to collect information on actors and journalists planning to go public with allegations of sexual harassment and assault against him, according to a *New Yorker* report. Weinstein's lawyer denied that individuals were targeted.

### *Syria intends to sign Paris pact*

Syria is planning on signing the Paris climate-change accord, an official from the war-ravaged country announced at a global climate meeting in Germany. The move would leave the U.S. as the sole U.N. member state outside the agreement.

### *Severe air pollution in Delhi*

A public-health emergency was declared in Delhi, India, by the Indian Medical Association, because of severe air pollution equivalent to smoking at least 50 cigarettes in a day.

### *Disney had merger talks with Fox*

Walt Disney held preliminary talks with the Rupert Murdoch–controlled 21st Century Fox to buy its entertainment assets, a meeting that sent shock waves through the media and entertainment worlds. Fox's shares surged after the news broke.

ANDREW HARRER—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES

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## TICKER

### *Florida State suspends Greek life*

Florida State University indefinitely suspended all fraternities and sororities following the death of Andrew Coffey, a pledge at Pi Kappa Phi who died Nov. 3 after he was found unresponsive after a party. "There must be a new culture," said FSU President John Thrasher.

### *Deadly virus emerges in Uganda*

A severe, highly fatal virus called Marburg infected and killed three people in the Kween District of Eastern Uganda. There is currently no vaccine for the Marburg virus, which comes from the same family of viruses as Ebola.

### *Death for Japan's 'black widow'*

A 70-year-old Japanese killer dubbed the "black widow" was sentenced to death for the murders of three men, including a husband, by a Kyoto court. Chisako Kakehi was accused of using cyanide to kill her wealthy lovers, who were mostly elderly, making millions from insurance payouts.

### *Cyclist fired after Trump flip-off*

Virginia cyclist Juli Briskman, 50, claimed she was forced to resign from her job as a marketing analyst after she was photographed raising her middle finger at President Trump's motorcade when it drove past her on Oct. 28.

IMMIGRATION

# Trump looks to end temporary status for some immigrants

By Maya Rhodan

THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION HAS TAKEN another step to limit immigration, this time curtailing a long-standing program that allows people to live and work in the U.S. if they cannot safely return to their home countries because of natural disaster or ongoing conflict.

On Nov. 6, acting Homeland Security Secretary Elaine Duke announced that her department would end temporary protected status in early 2019 for 2,500 immigrants who fled Nicaragua after Hurricane Mitch in 1998. The Administration has left open the possibility of ending temporary protected status for more than 300,000 people from other countries as well. That could affect over 190,000 Salvadorans, 57,000 Hondurans and 50,000 Haitians currently protected from deportation.

Even his opponents admit that President Trump has broad powers in this area. Because the protected status is supposed to be temporary, it typically has to be renewed by the government regularly for periods of six to 18 months. Before the program existed, the executive branch had the power to offer some countries "extended voluntary departure" according to the Migration Policy Institute, but unlike temporary protected status, no specific criteria had to be met in order to qualify—and designations were often motivated by politics.

Those under temporary protected status must have been living in the U.S. continuously when their home country was declared unsafe to return to. And they cannot have any felony convictions, more than two misdemeanors or run afoul of other national security and narcotics laws. Moreover, temporary protected status is not a pathway to U.S. citizenship. Those who receive it are safe from deportation, but they do not receive green cards and are not eligible to apply for legal permanent residence or citizenship. The only ways they can get a green card are through the usual routes, such as marrying a U.S. citizen or finding an employer to sponsor them.

But over the course of decades, many have put down deep roots, having children who became citizens and integrating into the economy. That means ending their temporary status could be costly for them and their families. Critics say Trump is continuing a politically driven anti-immigrant agenda at the expense of innocents. "This Administration seems uninterested in keeping families together, in keeping essential workers in critical industries or in keeping neighboring countries from becoming failed states," said Frank Sharry of America's Voice Education Fund. "They seem to care more about getting applause from the right-wingers who want to drive out immigrants, keep out refugees, ban Muslims and slash legal immigration."

But for Trump's supporters, the Administration is simply seeing to it that a temporary program is kept temporary. Either way, for thousands of immigrants legally in the U.S., their time here may soon be up, regardless of the cost. □

FALSE ALARMS

# No need for the bomb squad

A man in Germany called the police when he mistook a nearly 16-inch zucchini growing in his garden for an unexploded World War II bomb. Here, other false alarms caused by innocent objects. —*Kate Samuelson*

**BOCCE BALLS**
A professional bocce player from France had his kit seized on his way to a tournament in Denmark in October. His set of three personalized metal balls was mistaken for parts of a bomb.

**SANDWICH**
In 2016, a British bomb squad blew up a sandwich, splattering pesto and bread over a shop window, after being called to investigate a suspicious package left near a London train station.

**SEX TOY**
The terminal of Mackay Airport in Queensland, Australia, was evacuated for an hour in 2004 after a vibrating adult device left in a trash can was mistaken for a bomb.

FALSE ALARMS: PICTURE-ALLIANCE/DPA/AP

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## Milestones

**DIED**

Former Major League Baseball pitcher **Roy Halladay,** who played for the Toronto Blue Jays and Philadelphia Phillies, at 40, in a plane crash.

**Nancy Friday,** the pioneering writer of books about gender politics, at 84. *My Secret Garden,* Friday's landmark compilation of women's sexual fantasies, sold millions of copies following its 1973 publication.

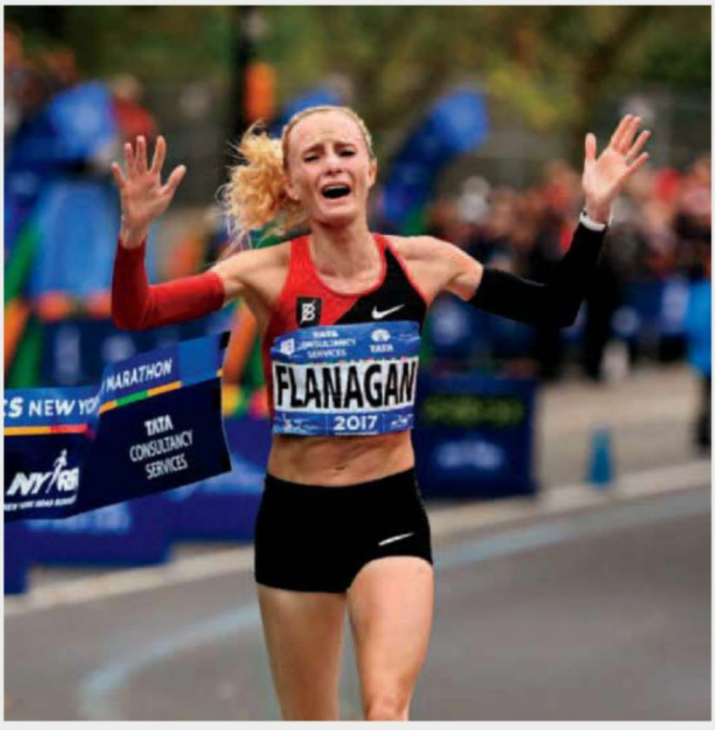
**Gilbert Rogin,** former managing editor of *Sports Illustrated* and a corporate editor of Time Inc. until his retirement in 1991, at 87.

**INCREASED**

The **U.S. rate for gun deaths** for the second year in a row, following 15 years of no real change, according to a government report. The country's firearm death rate rose to 12 deaths per 100,000 people last year, up from 11 in 2017.

**EXTENDED**

**The character count on Twitter posts to 280,** doubling the maximum limit for all the social network's users. The platform tested the lengthier tweet format with select users in September.




*Flanagan's victory, the first by an American woman in 40 years, came just days after a terrorist attack in the city*

**WON**

## Shalane Flanagan
*New York City Marathon*

AS SHALANE FLANAGAN APPROACHED THE FINISH LINE AT THE New York City Marathon on Nov. 5, secure that she'd be the first American woman to win the prestigious race in 40 years, she pumped a fist and screamed a joyous expletive. A back injury kept the four-time Olympian out of this year's Boston Marathon and left her competitive future in doubt. But Flanagan, 36, thirsted for her first major marathon victory, and she managed to recover in time for New York. A win seemed all the more unlikely with Kenyan star Mary Keitany vying for her fourth straight title. Yet Flanagan managed to hold off Keitany down the stretch. Her winning time of 2 hr. 26 min. 53 sec. was about a minute ahead of the favorite. Flanagan's surprise win ended four decades of frustration for U.S. women, and also signaled a potential revival of American distance running.

More important, however, was the emotional lift. The race came just days after a terrorist attack in the city killed eight people and injured 11 more. Extra layers of security lined the 26.2-mile course to protect the 50,000-plus runners. "It's been a tough week for New Yorkers, and a tough week for our nation," said Flanagan afterward. "I thought, What a better gift than to make Americans smile today?" —SEAN GREGORY

THE CEO BRIEF

## Notes from the fourth industrial revolution

**By Alan Murray**

Dreamforce, the annual Salesforce conference in San Francisco, attracts more than 170,000 attendees and is part sales pitch, part circus and part tent revival.

The kickoff to the weeklong event was CEO Marc Benioff's two-hour "keynote," during which he wandered through the audience at the Moscone Center, Oprah-style, spreading his unique tech message. And here's what I found most remarkable: during the first hour of that presentation, he barely mentioned Salesforce products at all. Instead, he propounded his view that the "business of business is to make the world a better place."

We are in the midst of a fourth industrial revolution, he told the rapt crowd. It was up to the people filling the Moscone Center to make sure that technology unites us, makes us more connected and reduces inequality rather than increasing it. He also touted Salesforce's "1-1-1" philanthropy model, in which it devotes 1% of its equity, 1% of its products and 1% of its employees' time to charity.

Is this any way to sell software? Well, it seems to work for Salesforce, which will have revenues of over $10 billion this year, and has earned the top spot on *Fortune*'s new Future 50 list.

An increasing number of CEOs are concluding that they can motivate employees, build loyalty among customers and perhaps even play a small role in restoring public trust in business by making a strong public commitment to doing good in the world. Benioff says his 1-1-1 plan has been adopted by more than 3,000 other companies. That can't be a bad thing.

*Murray is Time Inc.'s chief content officer and the president of* Fortune

FLANAGAN: TIMOTHY A. CLARY—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

# AN EYE TO THE FUTURE

As a diversified company doing business across cutting-edge industries, **Yun Fu Group** is focused on growth at home and abroad.

*The Yun Fu Group leadership team*

**YUN FU GROUP** is a diversified company with a focus on some of the most dynamic and cutting-edge industries doing business today. Founded in January 2016, this young and vibrant enterprise is dedicated to developing impactful energy and environmental solutions across different fields. From the beginning, it has sought to make a difference in industries such as energy, finance, photovoltaics, new energy source development, advertising, investment, internet technology, and agriculture, among many others.

The company's development has moved toward globalization, with an eye to diversification. By continuing to focus on industry best practices in everything it does, the company is expanding its reach. For example, in February 2016, Yun Fu was extremely successful in generating new sources of revenue that resulted in the company earning in excess of ¥8 million dollars (RMB) worth of business. In fact, during its first year of business, the company hosted a variety of domestic industry events that helped it increase brand awareness and sales. Its high-quality service combined with superior products and advanced business philosophy have attracted a large number of talented employees to join Yun Fu's ranks and have enabled it to cultivate an impressive number of new potential clients. During the calendar year 2016 the company's revenue exceeded ¥400 million dollars (RMB) and it was named "Outstanding Business Enterprise of the Year."

Yun Fu shows no sign of slowing down its development in 2018. It is in the process of implementing large-scale structural adjustments that will result in dynamic, transformational improvements throughout the entire company with an eye toward international expansion. Further, the company is attempting to foster a number of sustainable development projects with the continuing goal of globalization. Yun Fu is also increasing its foreign brand awareness and opening up overseas markets through the sponsorship of international beauty pageants.

As it grows and expands, Yun Fu is committed to adhering to the principles of responsible citizenship and environmental protection, as well as to governmental recommendations and policies, by promoting both energy efficiency and green energy. Moving forward, the company will also continue to strengthen its green energy business sectors.

For example, in the next two or three years, Yun Fu will focus on the development of new energy sources and photovoltaic products. In addition, within this same time frame, there are agricultural projects in the works. As a responsible company, Yun Fu will fulfill its social and environmental responsibilities, reducing energy consumption and moving toward green energy. It will forge a path to sustainable energy development and provide strong support for economic and social transformation.

WORLD

# The young heir to Saudi Arabia's throne makes a power play

By Jared Malsin/Istanbul

ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO, THE ONLY THING THAT MADE Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman stand out from his extended family was the $550 million yacht he bought from a Russian vodka tycoon. Today the 32-year-old is the heir to the throne and author of an ongoing shake-up in the kingdom that has rattled the entire region.

Over the course of a single November weekend, the man who was named crown prince only in June ordered dozens of elite Saudis arrested or detained on corruption charges, including at least 11 fellow members of the royal family *(see graphic, right)*. Crucially, he replaced the commander of Saudi Arabia's national guard, bringing all of Saudi Arabia's security forces under his own control. Robert Jordan, a former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia, put the sweep in perspective. "It's the equivalent of having Bill Gates, Warren Buffet and Colin Powell arrested," he told TIME.

Salman has positioned himself to be the most powerful Saudi ruler in a generation, once his ailing father King Salman, 81, hands over the keys to the kingdom, say diplomats with experience in the region. But his lightning ascent has also been jarring. Shortly after the King made his son deputy crown prince and Defense Minister in 2015, Saudi Arabia launched a war in Yemen, which has left 10,000 combatants and civilians dead. Salman also spearheads the latest effort to diversify the Saudi economy, including a controversial plan to sell shares in the behemoth state oil company Saudi Aramco. He has donned the mantle of modernizer, associating himself with a decree ending a ban on women drivers. Along the way he took the title of crown prince (and control of Interior Ministry forces) from Mohammed bin Nayef, who in 2009 survived an al-Qaeda suicide bomber in his own office but proved no match for the ambitions of the cousin known as MBS.

Salman's abrupt consolidation of power threatens the House of Saud's historically geriatric rule, potentially bypassing an entire generation represented by Nayef, 58. It also raised concerns of turmoil in a region already unsettled by recent Saudi moves. The surprise resignation of Lebanese Prime Minister Saad Hariri on Nov. 4 was announced from Saudi Arabia, which reportedly disapproved of his relationship with Hizballah, the proxy of Saudi archrival Iran. The same day, Saudi defenses intercepted a missile launched from Yemen toward the Riyadh airport, which the Saudi Foreign Minister called an "act of war" by Iran, which supports Yemeni rebels. The Saudi coalition then closed Yemen's land, sea and air entries, despite widespread food shortages and an outbreak of cholera.

"What connects those dots is the ambition and desire of Mohammed bin Salman," says Robert Malley, a former

## Royal purge

Saudi leaders detained 11 princes and dozens of others in what was termed an anticorruption sweep. Among the accused:

**PRINCES ARRESTED**

**Alwaleed bin Talal**
*Chairman of Kingdom Holding Co.*

**Miteb bin Abdullah**
*Minister of the National Guard*

**Turki bin Abdullah**
*Former Riyadh province governor*

**Fahad bin Abdullah**
*Former Deputy Defense Minister*

**Turki bin Nasser**
*Former head of meteorology and environmental protection*

**ARE RELATED AS...**

*Grandsons*

**to King Abdulaziz ibn Saud**
The founder of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia fathered all the subsequent kings to date.

*Nephews*

**to King Salman bin Abdulaziz**
The monarch has reigned since 2015, succeeding his father and five brothers.

*Cousins*

**to Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman**
The king's son leads the anticorruption committee and is next to the throne.

**OTHERS DETAINED**

**OFFICIALS**
Both current and former ministers were arrested, as well as the former chief of the royal court who served under the last king.

**BUSINESSMEN**
The sweep also included executives of major Saudi corporations, including media, airline and telecom companies.



SOURCE: REUTERS; IMAGES, TOP ROW: FAHAD SHADEED—REUTERS; HASSAN AMMAR—AP/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK; DMITRY ASTAKHOV—RIA NOVOSTI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES. MIDDLE ROW: JIM WATSON—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; KAMAL MUSTAFA—EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK. BOTTOM ROW: AP; SAUDI PRESS AGENCY/REUTERS; TASNEEM ALSULTAN—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

*Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, 32, is commonly known by his initials, MBS*

special assistant to President Barack Obama who was responsible for the Middle East. "Asserting his regional authority requires asserting domestic authority."

Salman also advocated the isolation of Gulf rival Qatar, whose transgressions included cordial relations with neighboring Iran. "The age of compromise with Iran is over for Saudi Arabia," says Lina Khatib, head of the Middle East program at Chatham House in London.

That appears to suit President Donald Trump, who in October launched his own initiative to curb Iran's influence. He has found an enthusiastic ally in the Saudis, whose campaign of flattery and free spending has paid huge dividends for the kingdom. (Trump's May trip there, the first foreign visit in office, was largely arranged by Salman.) After the crackdown Trump expressed his approval, tweeting on Nov. 6 that he had "great confidence" in King Salman and the crown prince.

As it happens, days before the purge, Trump's senior adviser and son-in-law Jared Kushner took an unannounced trip to Riyadh, where he met with the crown prince. Malley says the timing of Kushner's visit speaks volumes. "It's very hard to imagine that those [moves] were not at a minimum previewed with Washington, and it's equally unimaginable that the U.S. did not give them a green light," he says. ◻

TOP: TASNEEM ALSULTAN—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; RIGHT: NICOLAS ASFOURI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

THE RISK REPORT

# Corruption crackdowns can bring political advantages

**By Ian Bremmer**

SINCE BECOMING CHINA'S PRESIDENT nearly five years ago, Xi Jinping has used an anticorruption drive to remove 170 ministers and deputy minister–level officials from power, and to punish another 1.34 million lower-ranking Communist Party officials. "Swamp draining with Chinese characteristics" (as opposed to the signature "socialism with Chinese characteristics") is designed to serve several purposes: to punish genuinely corrupt individuals, to bolster the ruling party's public image and to sideline real and potential rivals of Xi and his political agenda.

> The soon-to-be king is purging opponents, real and potential, and firing a warning shot at would-be troublemakers

Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has been conducting a purge of his own, which intensified after a failed military coup in July 2016. More than 50,000 Turkish citizens have been arrested; 150,000 have lost their jobs. The purge extends well beyond the army into the courts, the police, the universities and the ruling party itself. Erdogan's bid to consolidate power continues. We've now seen yet another variant of this "anti-corruption" push in Saudi Arabia.

I've written in the past about a concept I call the "J curve," a measure of the relationship between a country's stability and its "openness." Some countries are politically stable only because the government exercises tight control of the country's politics, economy and culture by restricting the flow of information available to those who live within its borders. As these countries become more open, as governments loosen their grip, they tend to become less stable.

In years past, Saudi Arabia has avoided political turmoil in this way. Yes, Saudi Arabia is a full participant in the global economy, but its social stability is predicated on subsidies, state jobs and other benefits for Saudi citizens funded by oil sales. As Mohammed bin Salman tries to shift the kingdom from 20th century petrostate to diversified 21st century economy, he knows he needs to shake up Saudi culture by, for example, allowing women to drive so they can contribute to the workforce in greater numbers.

To ensure these and other historic changes don't produce serious challenges to the country's stability, the soon-to-be king is purging opponents, real and potential, and firing a loud warning shot at other would-be troublemakers.

And while the purge seems to be popular among Saudis, absent transparency around the cases, it's hard to gauge just how legitimate an anticorruption push it is. Once upon a time, the U.S. and Europe would champion such anti-corruption efforts so long as they were perceived as legitimate and upholding universal liberal democratic values. Not that it seems to matter much to President Trump: "I have great confidence in King Salman and the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, they know exactly what they are doing," he's already tweeted from Asia. To the Saudis, a wink is as good as a nod. ◻

*Chinese President Xi Jinping has found anti-corruption useful*

LightBox

# A tour to reassure

**President Trump and First Lady Melania Trump meet with Japan's Emperor Akihito, left, and Empress Michiko, right, at the Imperial Palace in Tokyo on Nov. 6. On his 12-day Asia tour, with stops scheduled in Japan, South Korea, China, Vietnam and the Philippines, Trump addressed trade issues, the nuclear threat in North Korea and whether "America first" means Beijing's influence in the region will grow unchecked.**

***Photograph by Issei Kato—Pool/AFP/Getty Images***

▸ *For more of our best photography, visit* **time.com/lightbox**

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# 2017 SPORTSPERSON of the YEAR

Sports Illustrated

IT IS NOT FOR THE
**VICTORY**
ALONE THAT THEY ARE
**HONORED,**
IT IS FOR THE QUALITY OF THEIR
**EFFORT**
AND THE MANNER OF THEIR STRIVING.

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## WHO WILL BE NEXT?

CELEBRATING EXCELLENCE WITH

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# The View

*'I HAVE SEEN THE HOPE, PATRIOTISM AND BELIEF IN OUR VALUES AND OUR DEMOCRACY.'* —PAGE 24

*Movements like the Women's March aim to get more women in power to tip the ratio toward change*

TIPPING POINT

## What happens when women reach a critical mass of influence

**By Jay Newton-Small**

IF IT SEEMS LIKE THE STRUCTURES that enable sexism are exploding, that's because they scientifically are, according to the theory of critical mass. When women reached 20% in the Senate, they went after the Pentagon to reform the military's sexual-assault protocol. When they reached 25% of Hollywood producers, they took down Harvey Weinstein and his casting-couch culture. And when they reached a third of the White House press corps, Fox's Roger Ailes, NPR's Michael Oreskes and other serial harassers in the media began to get called out. Somewhere in that zone, when women comprise 20% to 30% of an institution, things begin to change.

Critical mass has its roots in physics: it's the amount of material needed to sustain a nuclear explosion. Accumulate enough, set it off and there is no other outcome but *boom!* The concept has been used in sociology for decades. After the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, experts recommended that a minimum "critical mass" of minority students be integrated into schools.

Later, in the 1970s, after the Navy was required to integrate its ships following a 1978 district court decision, it began with one woman and then a handful of women. It was a disaster for all involved. Through trial and error, it struck upon the idea of critical mass. Now all ships are required to have at least 20% women on board.

Studies show that when corporate boards reach critical mass, companies become more efficient, make

COURTESY BENRUBI GALLERY

PHOTOGRAPH BY MATTHEW PILLSBURY

more money and have to restate earnings less frequently. And having a critical mass of women on group courts has led to many more cases of bias being considered, studies show. But the media and Hollywood are two of the highest-profile occupations in America, and fame has benefits. Famous women calling out their harassers by name emboldens women across the country. The focus and attention paid to these scandals will help shine a light on other sectors.

This is only the beginning. Women first stormed the workforce as Rosie the Riveters during World War II. The U.S. would not have won that war if women hadn't brought in the crops and built the weapons. And it will be economic necessity that will bring women fully into the workforce. By 2030 the baby-boomer generation will have fully aged beyond retirement eligibility and America will be short 26 million workers. Two obvious ways to address that shortfall: bring in a ton of new immigrants, which is hard to imagine in this political climate, or bring women up to full employment, which would add 23 million more workers to the workforce. Parity.

What can we do to help? Count ourselves. When I was researching my book, *Broad Influence,* I had to go to all 15 departments of the government, the White House and four labor unions to figure out that women made up 30% of the upper levels of the civil service and political appointees. We think there should be plenty of data out there about women, but the truth is there isn't. Hollywood has the Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media, which tracks Tinseltown. But there's almost no official tracking of newsrooms. (My one-third number is an unofficial head count taken by me looking around at my colleagues.) And other industries are worse. Consulting groups like McKinsey and Ernst & Young track women in the workforce, but their numbers are reported in aggregate and companies are guaranteed secrecy when they participate. In recent years people have begun to wake up to the dearth of data on women. Melinda Gates, Generation W and the Wilson Center's Women in Public Service Project have all recently launched data-collection initiatives.

So what comes next? Ask your company how many women they have in management and report it. Ask your local police force how many female officers they have. Look around you: school boards, zoning commissions, local corporations—few of these have holistic gender-data collection. Until we know where we stand, it will be hard to know how close to critical mass we are and when things can go *boom!*

*Newton-Small, a TIME contributor, is the CEO of MemoryWell and author of* Broad Influence

**VERBATIM**

'A new generation of veterans shows great promise to lead our country and battle the hyper-partisanship that threatens our democracy.'

**RYE BARCOTT AND JAKE WOOD,** two former members of the U.S. armed forces, announcing the launch of the non-profit With Honor on **time.com/withhonor**

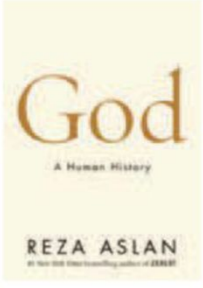
**18.8%**

Percentage of current members of Congress who are veterans, a near historic low

GOOD POINT

## How evolution shaped our view of God

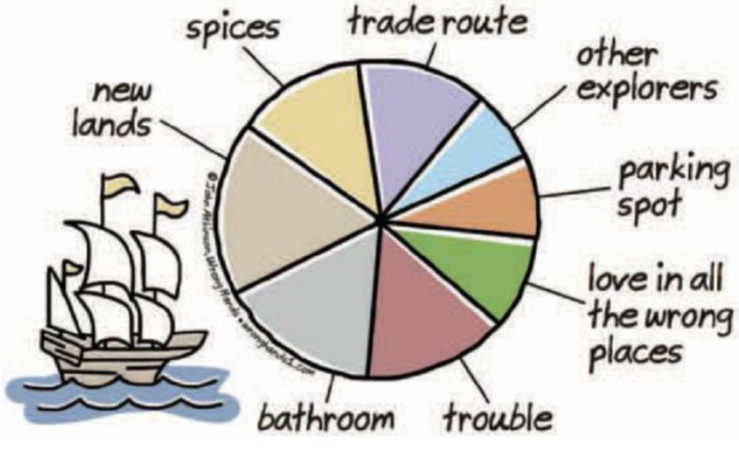
ACROSS MILLENNIA, ALMOST ALL OF the world's religions have had one thing in common: we envision a god (or gods) that resembles us. Reza Aslan argues in his new book, *God: A Human History,* that our spirituality has been an effort to "make sense of the divine by giving it our emotions and our personalities." As it turns out, Aslan writes, evolution has programmed us to do this. The brain's Hypersensitive Agency Detection Device alerts you to trees that look like faces or noises that sound like intruders—which helped us evade predators in the wilderness and leads us to "assume every bump in the night is caused by someone doing the bumping." Likewise, it explains why we believe that events in the world are caused by a spiritual force that behaves as we do. Aslan believes in God but thinks this is cause for re-evaluation of his essence. "It is we who have fashioned God in our image," he writes, "not the other way around."




—SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

## What the explorers were looking for




JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

*Former President Bush and CreatiVets co-founder Casper discuss a piece of art*

BIG IDEA

# Art that heals veterans

**By Melissa Chan**

IN RICHARD CASPER'S HOMETOWN OF Washburn, Ill., he was the class clown and prom king—the kid who always smiled and the teenager who always made his mother laugh.

That all changed when he joined the Marines after 9/11 and deployed to Iraq. In December 2006, Casper, then 21, was patrolling with a group of soldiers that included his best friend, 20-year-old Lance Corporal Luke Yepsen. They were ambushed. Yepsen was shot dead, right next to Casper. In the months that followed, Casper was consumed with grief for his friend: "He was shot and killed, and the next day we were working."

By February 2007, Casper had been hit by four improvised explosive devices in a four-month span. He sustained multiple concussions, culminating in a traumatic brain injury that sent him home. He suffered from posttraumatic stress, depression and severe anxiety.

To deal with his suicidal thoughts, Casper sought help from the Department of Veterans Affairs. But the pills a psychiatrist prescribed made him feel more disconnected. He didn't want to handle his pain that way.

Instead, he began taking classes at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, where he could finally express what he felt through paintings and sculptures. "Art ended up changing my life," says Casper, now 32.

In 2013, Casper co-founded CreatiVets. The nonprofit helps veterans heal through free music and art programs, flying them to Nashville, where Casper lives, to collaborate with accomplished songwriters for three days or to Chicago or Virginia to study at the School of the Art Institute or Virginia Commonwealth University for three weeks. So far Casper and CreatiVets co-founder Linda Tarrson have helped more than 80 people.

In September, TIME organized a meeting between Casper and former President George W. Bush, who has painted dozens of portraits of service members and veterans for a book that was published last February. "A guy such as yourself got a Ph.D. in life," Bush told Casper, who had guarded Bush for more than a year at Camp David before volunteering to go into combat. "Personal responsibility. Discipline. Worrying about somebody else. You're going to be one of the really important assets to the future of this country."

While up to 20% of soldiers who served in Iraq or Afghanistan have posttraumatic stress, Casper thinks art can help people like Petty Officer Chris Goehner, a former Navy medic who is haunted by a Marine he could not save. After hearing a song written about his experience through CreatiVets, Goehner felt relief: "Finally, this negative experience may have some positive."

*Watch TIME's documentary about Casper, Bush and CreatiVets at* **time.com/CreatiVets**

ANDREW KING

EXCERPT

## ON TOLERANCE

**By Dan Rather**

We often hear about how we need to be more tolerant: to make room for people, ideas and actions with which we may not agree. This is a prerequisite for a functional democracy. But tolerance alone is not sufficient; it allows us to accept others without engaging with them, to feel smug and self-satisfied without challenging the boundaries within which too many of us live. A society worthy of our ideals would be a much more inclusive one, a more integrated one. Our first national motto was e pluribus unum, "out of many, one." Under this framework, building tolerance is a worthy way station to a much grander destination of inclusion. This is a journey that is in our power as a nation to make.

I worry that for all the progress we have made, we are stuck in the purgatory of tolerance—on race, on LGBTQ rights, on women's equality. We have of late seen evidence of a great racial divide that remains and in some ways even appears to be expanding. While tragedies like the high-profile shootings of African Americans at the hands of law enforcement get a lot of deserved attention, these are symptoms of a much deeper problem. We are still largely segregated as a society, and our political divisions increasingly fall along the lines of race. Inclusion, not assimilation, should be the key concept in seeking, ever seeking, a more perfect national union.

*Rather, a former anchor of* CBS Evening News, *is the author of* What Unites Us. *Read more at* **time.com/danrather**

# **Khizr Khan** The Gold Star father on his new books, his love for America and his family

KHIZR AND GHAZALA KHAN BECAME POLITICAL CELEBRITIES a little over a year ago, after they spoke at the Democratic National Convention about their son Captain Humayun Khan, a U.S. soldier killed in Iraq. The Gold Star parents asked Donald Trump, then the Republican presidential nominee, if he had ever read the Constitution and offered to lend him their copy; Trump claimed he'd been "viciously attacked." The Khans emerged with public support, and pocket Constitutions, which Khizr said he always carried, hit the Amazon best-seller list for a hot minute. Now Khizr Khan is reupping his fight for American values with a pair of new books, *This Is Our Constitution,* a kids' guide to that crucial document, and *An American Family: A Memoir of Hope and Sacrifice,* about his upbringing in Pakistan, his journey to U.S. citizenship in 1988 and his hopes for the country.

> 'I urge every American, under these perilous times, to read these documents.'
>
> **KHIZR KHAN**, author and Gold Star father

In an interview with TIME, Khan says there have been times he regretted stepping into an increasingly divisive political arena—"every day when there's lack of comfort, lack of privacy," he says. But he hopes that his late son, who had a childhood reputation for standing up to bullies, would be proud of how his parents have spent the past year. Khan has visited more than 160 communities since the DNC in July 2016, including Portland, Ore.; Toledo, Ohio; Houston; and Pittsburgh.

"I had suspected that then candidate Trump would continue to display his ignorance and his lack of regard for basic dignity and basic courtesy to our values, to rule of law, to our democratic system of government," says Khan. "That concern and that fear have come true." He has watched repeat attempts at immigration bans targeting Muslim-majority countries and has seen white supremacists march in his hometown of Charlottesville, Va. But his memoir is a lesson in optimism.

**KHAN WRITES OF LOVE** for his family, both ancestral and nuclear, including the distress and then acceptance he experienced when Humayun joined the ROTC. And he writes of his marriage. "Falling in love was a laborious process in Pakistan in the 1970s," he writes of the customs that made dating so difficult their courtship required weeks of his riding a bus with her just to make small talk.

*An American Family* is also about another kind of love: Khan's deep admiration for the founding U.S. documents, which he first read in 1972, when he was a college graduate studying law in Pakistan. Khan later put himself through Harvard Law School, sleeping on a park bench in Boston for a brief period after graduation because he was sending his entire paycheck to Ghazala and their sons in Houston.

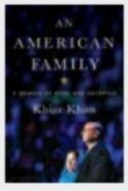
In Pakistan he read the Declaration of Independence obsessively, poring over its meaning and history. The Constitution was "rather dry" by comparison, Khan writes, but "the very fact that there were amendments was magnificent: The rules could be modified to more ably and comprehensively serve the good of the people, as if the document itself was alive, reactive, adaptive."

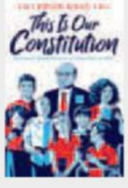
Now, he says, "I urge every American, under these perilous times, to read these documents." He also thinks all Americans, both immigrants and those born in the U.S., should be required to take an oath of citizenship because "it leaves you with such a sense of responsibility and patriotism."

**THE VALUES THAT** Khan learned from the Founding Fathers and from his grandfather in Pakistan—respect, compassion for strangers—are the same ones he passed on to his three sons and the ones he is calling on America to embrace. "I have seen the hope, patriotism and belief in our values and our democracy," he says. "It has been reaffirmed time after time after time—every handshake, every hug, meeting people in the streets, on trains, in stores."

Khan says he has no political aspirations, though he is often asked about it. "Just continue to speak, serve. Hopefully sometime I'll be able to gain some privacy so I can sit down and reflect," he says. But he holds the U.S. Capitol in such high regard that he says he would proudly sweep its steps if someone only handed him a broom.

—KATIE REILLY




**FIRST AND FOREMOST**

Khan says the rights he holds dearest are in the First Amendment: freedom of speech and assembly. "The rest of humanity aspires to have that," he says.

PAUL MORIGI—GETTY IMAGES



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TOYOTA
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*Macron sits in his first-floor office, the* salon doré, *in the Élysée Palace on Nov. 7*

PHOTOGRAPH BY NADAV KANDER FOR TIME

# At home in the world

At 39, French President Emmanuel Macron is just getting started By Vivienne Walt/Paris

# In December, if they accept the invitation

of the President of France, leaders of 100 countries will descend on Paris to ramp up the global fight against climate change. But in a striking omission, one major name is not on the list: U.S. President Donald Trump. When TIME sat down with President Emmanuel Macron in the Élysée Palace on Nov. 7, he said the U.S. leader would not be among the guests at his Dec. 12 summit, "except if you get this big announcement coming from himself that he has decided to join the club."

The "club," of course, comprises every other country on the planet, now that even Syria has pledged to join the Paris Agreement on climate change, which was negotiated in the French capital in 2015 to drastically rein in carbon emissions and stave off disastrous global warming. Since Trump alone has rejected the agreement and vowed to cancel the U.S.'s climate commitments, much of the responsibility for leading this club has fallen to an erudite young Frenchman who has only just begun his career as an elected politician. Climate change is the most global of all the world's problems, but it is hardly the only one: there are nuclear threats, far-right nationalism, jihadi terrorism and technological disruption. For all those, too, the French President is eager to discuss what his country can offer. And although he says he's not seeking to become the leader of the free world, he can sound like he is."Today, de facto, we are part of the global leadership on climate change," he says, speaking in his excellent English, a very rare thing for French leaders. "I want us to be part of the global leadership on the economy and on finance, on the digital environment. I think we have a very important leadership to play on multilateralism."

Six months to the day since Macron swept to power in the most astonishing election in modern France, he welcomed TIME to his office to weigh what his presidency might mean, not only for the 63 million people in France or even for the European Union's 508 million, but around the world. It is a question worth pondering when the current U.S. President has retreated into "America first" policies, and Europe's usual de facto leader, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, is struggling to build a coalition after a disappointing election. Britain, meanwhile, is in shambles, muddling through its painful exit from the E.U.

Edging into the vacuum is Macron, 39, a passionate globalist deeply read in history and philosophy, whose victory formed a counternarrative to the assumption that, in the shadow of Brexit and Trump, the E.U. would fall to right-wing nationalists. But in a Europe where millions of people were killed in 20th century wars waged by authoritarian strongmen, assuming the leadership of more than one country remains a freighted proposition. "The classical French answer would be to say yes," he says, when TIME asks him about his ambitions to lead the Continent. "But I think it would be a mistake … I don't want to be the leader of Europe. I want to be one of the leaders, and this new generation of leaders, totally convinced that our future is a European future."

**THE VERY FACT** that such a role is even possible for Macron was thought exceedingly unlikely just 18 months ago, when he was the Economy Minister with not much more than ambition to his name. Shockingly young in a land of gray-haired political grandees, Macron nonetheless rose to the top in less than a year. He quit the government in August and formed his own movement, En Marche! (On the Move), to replace President François Hollande, who declined to run again as his popularity flatlined. Macron campaigned on an ambitious message no French citizen had heard in generations: forging an entirely new system for a modern France.

A former investment banker, Macron argued that the country's economic system—including heavy state regulation and watertight protection for labor—needed a radical overhaul. Sprung from the mobile Internet generation, he felt free to reject the orthodoxies of left and right. "I decided to react,

THE GLOBALIST GREETS ...

JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER SHINZO ABE

GERMAN CHANCELLOR ANGELA MERKEL

RUSSIAN PRESIDENT VLADIMIR PUTIN

U.S. PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP

to say the current organization of the political world is no more relevant," he says. Nonetheless, millions of people responded to him. Macron surged ahead of the traditional socialist and conservative parties in the first round of voting in April, going on to defeat the far-right, anti-E.U. Marine Le Pen in a second round. "He was the new kid in town, bright and charming," says Edouard Lecerf, deputy director general for the French consulting firm BVA. "From the beginning, it was a fairy tale."

One part of that fairy tale was Macron's personal life, which has drawn much attention. As a teenager, he fell in love with Brigitte, the (then married) drama coach at his high school, who is 24 years his senior. They married in 2007, after she had divorced her husband, with Macron thanking the guests at their wedding reception for supporting their "not completely normal" love match. Brigitte Macron, now 64, has seven grandchildren, a head-snapping version of the modern blended family.

Asked why he thinks the world is so fascinated with his marriage, Macron shifts on the couch and draws his legs close as he ventures into a more personal subject. "It is my life. That is it," he says, his voice softening. "And I think that when you decide to run for such a campaign, you owe your people the truth." In his relationship, he was guided by a principle he had set for himself at a tender age: to follow his own counsel, no matter what others believed. "I decided on my own what I considered fair, good and even when the current convention was not consistent with my choice," he says of his marriage. "And I did the same in politics, and I still do the same." Today a few photos of Brigitte sit on his desk. Nearby is only one other: France's wartime hero General Charles de Gaulle. At one point Macron's dog Nemo wandered in, for a pat from his master.

Macron's ability to tune out other people's judgments might have been useful in recent months. In stark contrast with his American counterpart, Macron himself does not use Twitter—"It's not compatible with the kind of distance you need to govern," he says pointedly. But were he on the site, he could scarcely have missed the outraged hashtags as demonstrators stormed the streets to protest his sweeping rewrite of French labor laws. In several polls, people have judged him as coming off as arrogant and too cozy with the rich. After five months in office, just 48% of those polled by Harris Interactive said they were satisfied with their new President. Macron, who has already rushed through several laws on labor, terrorism and taxes, shrugs at his falling numbers. "I was very popular at the beginning of my mandate, because I didn't do anything for the first week after my election," he says. "If you act, and it is because of your actions that you lose popularity, fine."

While some remain unconvinced, to judge by the leaders drawn to the Élysée to meet Macron, there is a sense of something dynamic happening in France. It's evident from the celebrities who have visited (Bono and Rihanna each made the trip) and from the buzz produced by constant motion.

In just the few days before he met with TIME, Macron weathered a blizzard of telephone diplomacy from his desk. With Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, he discussed climate change and scheduled a presidential visit for early next year. Another call was with Russian President Vladimir Putin, whom Macron had hosted in May in the sumptuous Versailles château. Back then, he stunned Putin by bluntly telling him in front of reporters that the state-funded Russian media had engaged in "false propaganda." Russian meddling still poses a serious peril to democracies like the U.S. and France, he told TIME. "We should not underestimate the potential effects of such interference."

Even so, Putin is now a man he can cut deals with. In his call with him on Nov. 3, he discussed opening humanitarian-aid corridors in Syria, an idea over which the Kremlin has long vacillated. The two also confirmed their commitment to the Iran nuclear deal, just days after Trump asked Congress to scrap U.S. support for it. And while TIME was at the Élysée, Macron's aides were preparing for his departure the next morning to the United Arab Emirates, where he would meet leaders from the Gulf region and open an Abu Dhabi franchise of the Louvre Museum.

IRANIAN PRESIDENT HASSAN ROUHANI | CHINESE PRESIDENT XI JINPING | BRITISH PRIME MINISTER THERESA MAY | INDIAN PRIME MINISTER NARENDRA MODI | CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER JUSTIN TRUDEAU

**BUT IT IS MACRON'S RELATIONSHIP** with Trump that has proved the most complicated. At first glance, the two are a study in contrasts, in politics as well as style: the brash, antiglobalist septuagenarian set against the scholarly French globalist little more than half his age. And yet there are commonalities. Both came out of the business world—Macron earned handsomely at a young age in four years at Rothschild—and both won shock victories as neophyte outsiders, trampling seasoned party politicians on the way.

GETTY IMAGES (9)

In the weeks leading up to the TIME interview, Macron's top aides expressed concern that he might be portrayed as the anti-Trump—a characterization they find especially tricky. "We cannot do without the U.S.," one of his close aides told me candidly, while another said that for Macron to try to convince Trump to change his mind on issues, "he needs a relationship of trust." Macron says he himself does not believe he is the anti-Trump. "It doesn't make sense. We are both duly elected by our voters," he says. "I am not here to judge, to say I am the opponent to anybody."

Even so, Macron barely conceals his annoyance at Trump's decisions to pull the U.S. out of the climate agreement and to halt U.S. support for the Iran nuclear deal, which major world powers negotiated in 2015, to stop Iran from building a nuclear weapon. Macron says Trump appears to have no alternative suggestions to replace those pacts. "You cannot renegotiate with more than 180 or 190 countries," he says about Trump's withdrawal from the climate deal, and then speaks as though he is addressing Trump: "You disagree with that, but what's your plan B? I don't know your plan B." He and Trump spoke by phone about Iran in October, with Macron arguing for Trump to keep supporting U.S. involvement in the deal or else see Iran sprint for a nuclear weapon. "I just said, 'What is your other option? What do you want to propose?' If you want to stop any relation with Iran regarding nuclear activity, you will create a new North Korea," he says. "What's your other option? To launch war, to attack Iran? It would be crazy."

Neither Trump nor Macron got the partner they wanted in their respective elections. In the final days before the French election, former U.S. President Barack Obama uploaded a video endorsement for Macron, to his campaign's delight. Trump, meanwhile, praised the tough anti-immigrant stance of Macron's rival, National Front leader Le Pen. After that, their first meeting, in Brussels in May, was guaranteed to be tense. Macron gripped Trump's palm in a prolonged handshake that went viral across the world.

Moments after Trump announced in June that he was withdrawing the U.S. from the Paris Agreement, Macron gave a televised address in English, inviting U.S. climate scientists to move to France, where their work would be supported. He ended with a dig at Trump's slogan, saying, "Make our planet great again."

Yet Macron insists that he and Trump have a "strong relationship" on security, counterterrorism and defense. For months French jets have bombed ISIS positions as part of the U.S.-led military coalition. France's military is in areas like Niger and Mali, where ISIS and al-Qaeda have taken hold. This is in keeping with the historic ties between the U.S. and France, Macron notes. "It's much stronger and more important than the current Presidents, on both sides."

The first signs of trust-building between the leaders came on July 14, Bastille Day, France's biggest national holiday. Trump was Macron's guest of honor, and the U.S. President was lavished with the best of Paris, a city Trump had said during his election campaign that "my friend Jim" would no longer visit. The visit included a full-scale military parade down the Champs-Élysées and dinner with the two Presidents' wives atop the Eiffel Tower. At a joint press conference, Macron called Trump "dear Donald," while Trump called the French leader "a great President." And if, so far, Macron appears to have had little luck in convincing Trump to change his mind on

LAURENT CIPRIANI — REUTERS

*Macron, center, leaves France's Lyon prefecture on Sept. 28*

key issues, he believes in keeping the door open to the possibility of welcoming back "the one who decided to leave the club," he says. "I do believe that we have a very good personal relationship."

And yet the battle of ideas between the two has only just begun. That was evident two months after Trump's glittering visit to Paris. In mid-September both he and Macron made their debut appearances at the U.N. General Assembly. Trump told world leaders he would "always put America first" and that he wanted to see a "future where nations can be sovereign," a sharp break from the U.N.'s mantra of global cooperation. Just two hours later Macron gave an impassioned defense of the multilateralism at the body's core, arguing against every point Trump had made. He tells TIME he wanted to place France, as one of the U.N. Security Council's five permanent members, in a leading role in the organization. "This country's history is directly linked with multilateralism and the checks and balances of our global organization."

'Our generation will not have the luxury just to manage Europe. We will have to refound it.'

Days later Macron delivered a much longer speech in Paris, giving a detailed blueprint for overhauling the entire E.U. in a live televised address. Macron's aides insist that he did not intend to step into the role as Europe's leader. Yet the timing led some to draw that conclusion: that same day, Merkel was locked in coalition talks in Berlin, after failing to win an outright majority in elections held just days before. Macron appeared to be striding into the breach.

The speech was classic Macron. Appealing to a grand narrative, he cut through the anxiety and shock over Brexit and the wave of anti-E.U. populist sentiment. He told Europeans, raised in comfortable democracies, that they were forgetting the horrors of the last century, when two world wars devastated the Continent and led to the formation of the E.U. Then he listed bold proposals for dramatically closer ties between the 27 E.U. countries after Britain leaves in 2019: a joint military force, an E.U. intelligence service, a Europe-wide asylum process for refugees and an E.U. financial transaction tax. "If you don't put on the table a new ambition, you leave the floor to those who doubt Europe," he says of his lofty proposals. "That's how I defeated Marine Le Pen. And that's why my strong recommendation to the others in Europe is to say, Don't be shy. If you are shy about Europe, you will be killed by the extremes."

To Macron, the project to unite Europe is proof that something positive can emerge from the darkest nationalist turmoil. "The whole story of Europe is about a series of wars, trying to dominate the others," he says. Since the European Union, there has been "freedom and peace, allowing prosperity," he says. To Macron, that notion seems deeply personal. Born into a generation that has always known a borderless E.U., his relative youth gives him a particular perspective. "Our generation will not

have the luxury just to manage Europe," he says. "We will have to refound it."

**FOR MACRON** to have a chance of remaking Europe—or, for that matter, to emerge as a new world leader—he will need to fix his own country. As he has begun to find his voice on global issues, so has he started an overhaul of France itself. Both, he says, are crucial, and closely interconnected. "France has a voice and a role to play," he says. "But this role cannot be played, and your voice is not even listened to, if you don't perform at home."

So far, Macron's plan to transform France has looked deceptively simple as he signs executive orders and as France's economy experiences a noticeable uptick after years of near-stagnation—partly a factor of businesses' optimism over Macron and of the world's general economic rise. Even so, popular dissent has simmered over Macron's first six months as he brings in what he calls a "profound transformation" in the "mindset" of the French. In September tens of thousands of outraged Parisians marched against the centerpiece of Macron's program: overhauling the watertight labor rights that have been in place for decades and which companies call a huge disincentive to hiring. "He is totally reversing social protections," a far-left member of Parliament, Bastien Lachaud, said, standing amid the crowds. "He has to listen to protesters."

But does he? Macron has no immediate need to compromise. His new political party, named La République En Marche!, won a large majority in parliamentary elections in June, ensuring that his executive orders find easy passage into law. The protests have had no discernible effect on Macron; one day after the Paris march, he signed the most far-reaching changes to French labor laws in decades, including one allowing companies to negotiate directly with employees rather than through labor unions, and drastically scaled back the country's unwieldy labor code. "Everything will be in place by the end of the year," he announced as he signed the new measures. Then he snapped the folder shut, as if to say, Case closed. Nobody should have been surprised by the speed of his actions, he now says. "I organized my campaign around these ideas. I didn't take the country by surprise," he says. "I delivered exactly the plan. That's it."

But not everyone in France cast their vote for Macron out of love for his platform. Many did so out of fear and disgust at Le Pen, whose nationalist platform included favoring France's withdrawal from E.U., ditching the euro and virtually halting immigration. Even so, she won an impressive 10.6 million votes. And the far-left leader Jean-Luc Mélenchon captured more than 7 million votes in the knockout round by campaigning for a 32-hour workweek and public retirement at 60. While Macron's power at the moment appears unimpeachable, the map shows alienation across the struggling industrial areas of France's northern rust belt, where towns have seen factories shuttered and jobs move to low-cost countries in Eastern Europe. Strong support exists there for the far right—a mirror image, perhaps, of Trump's "forgotten" Americans. That is a sobering thought as the French President attempts to create millions of jobs. Yet Macron is optimistic, saying that with his changes, France could hugely benefit from the economic disruption. "We have everything to succeed in this new environment if we deliver in changing some of our rules," he says. "Part of the political elites, unions, part of the economy were dead against this change. But people were waiting for that."

It could take years before the world knows the full scope of Emmanuel Macron. If his ideas are proved wrong and his free-market style fails to bring France the economic revival he promises, the angry populism that stirred France earlier this year, and which led to Brexit, could return in force.

But if Macron is proved right, France could emerge as a far more important global power than it has been in decades. If he wins re-election in 2022, after his first five-year term as President, he would leave the Élysée Palace in 2027 at a sprightly 49 years of age—with plenty of time to form a radically different post-presidential role for himself. That is a long way in a future that remains shrouded in the mists. But if Macron pulls off his transformation at home, the ambitions he has to change the world—not just France—could be within reach. That club, after all, has an opening for a leader.

STATECRAFT

## The Macron guide to diplomacy

### Extend a hand

When Macron met Donald Trump for the first time in May, the pair shared a tense, lengthy handshake that the French President later called a "moment of truth." So when the U.S. President visited Paris in July, Macron staged a rematch. For an excruciating 29 seconds, the men gripped each other's hands in a white-knuckle contest of wills, before breaking for a half-hug. Alpha-male dominance, asserted.

### Put your friends first

Macron's election was seen as a victory for European unity at a time when the E.U. was embattled on many fronts. It therefore spoke volumes that Macron chose to fly to Berlin on his first full day in office, in a signal of solidarity with German Chancellor Angela Merkel. (He may have learned from his predecessor, François Hollande, who did the exact same thing.)

### Lay on the charm

The Internet swooned in May when, during the G-7 summit in Sicily, Italy, photos emerged of Macron and Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau glancing longingly at each other while speaking French on a floral balcony overlooking the Mediterranean. The media marveled at the "bromance" unfolding on the world stage.

### Stand up for yourself

During Russian President Vladimir Putin's visit to Paris in May, Macron showed that he wasn't averse to an awkward moment. As the two men stood side by side, Macron called Russian news outlets Sputnik and RT "agents of influence" and criticized them for spreading false information about him during the French election. "I will never give in to that," he said as Putin squirmed.

—BILLY PERRIGO

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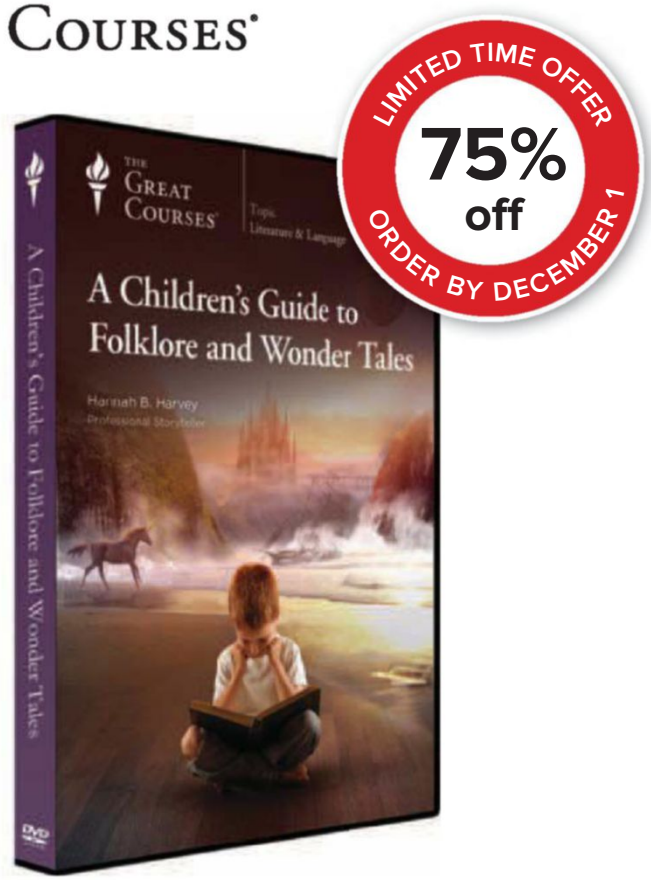


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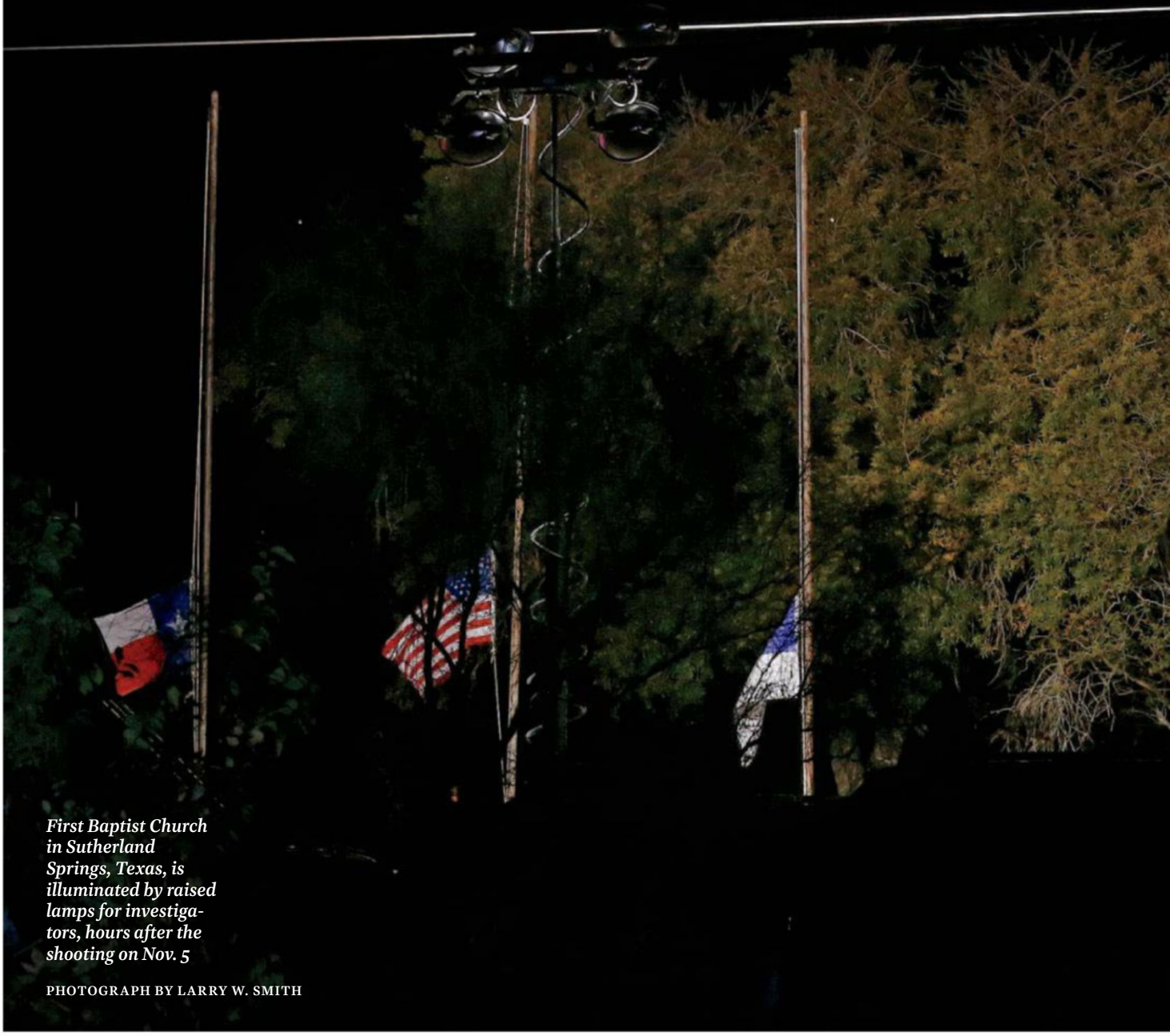
# A Killer in the

MASS SHOOTINGS AND



*First Baptist Church in Sutherland Springs, Texas, is illuminated by raised lamps for investigators, hours after the shooting on Nov. 5*

PHOTOGRAPH BY LARRY W. SMITH

# House

DOMESTIC ABUSE IN AMERICA *BY CHARLOTTE ALTER*

THERE IS NO EXPLANATION FOR A slaughter in a church. A shooter's mind is an unsolvable riddle: nobody can predict which odd loner will turn out to be a sociopath, or which angry outburst presages a massacre. But in hindsight, there are often red flags, and Devin Patrick Kelley displayed plenty of them. He had mental-health problems, a history of animal cruelty and a domestic-violence conviction that should have prevented him from getting a gun. But he got one anyway. Actually, he got four.

On Nov. 5, Kelley, 26, drove to First Baptist Church in tiny Sutherland Springs, Texas, where his wife's family worshipped. He fired an assault-style rifle into a congregation full of children and grandparents, killing 26 people and injuring 20 more. Survivors said he prowled the aisle looking to shoot crying babies as their mothers huddled under the pews. Among the dead: a toddler, a pastor's daughter, two first-time attendees and an unborn child. It was a massacre that could never have been predicted. But perhaps it could have been prevented.

Like most convicted domestic abusers, Kelley was not supposed to have access to firearms. But the Air Force acknowledged in the wake of the shooting that it appeared that Kelley's domestic-violence conviction wasn't entered into the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) database, which is likely why he was able to pass a background check.

This was hardly an isolated error. According to a Florida International University report obtained by TIME, the military mishandled roughly 1,300 domestic-violence cases between 2004 and 2012, including misclassifications that allowed abusers to go unreported in the NCIC. "There are thousands of cases that have been misclassified," says Eric Carpenter, an associate professor at FIU and a former Army lawyer who spent years sifting through military court-martial data. "We just know about this one because [Kelley] decided to shoot up a church."

The problem runs deeper than poor record-keeping. Federal law prohibits anyone convicted of domestic violence or subject to a domestic-violence restraining order from owning a gun. But spotty enforcement can allow abusers to fall through the cracks. While 28 states and Washington, D.C., have laws prohibiting convicted domestic batterers from buying or possessing firearms, only 14 require them to give up the guns they already own. Some laws say domestic-violence restrictions apply only to a spouse, cohabitating partner or co-parent, creating a so-called boyfriend loophole that excludes casual partners. There are three main background-check databases for reporting crimes, but states differ in how they report cases. Some states, like New York, New Mexico and Louisiana, had reported thousands of domestic-violence restraining orders to the National Instant Criminal Background Check System Indices (NICS Indices) as of December 2016, while 33 states reported none at all.

***Spotty enforcement and poor record-keeping can allow abusers to fall through the cracks***

*Mourners gathered on Nov. 6 at a prayer service for the 26 victims in Sutherland Springs*

**KELLEY WAS THE KIND OF GUY** who never should have passed a background check. In 2012, his then wife Tessa Kelley accused him of beating her, choking her, threatening her with a gun and hitting her infant son hard enough to break his skull. Kelley was charged with domestic violence in a military court and sent to a mental hospital in New Mexico, and then briefly escaped the facility. Former hospital staffers say he had hoarded firearms and made death threats against his military superiors, and suffered from an unspecified mental disorder. Later that year, he pleaded guilty to domestic-violence charges and spent a year in the brig before receiving a "bad conduct" discharge from the Air Force.

Once out, Kelley didn't clean up his act. In 2013, the Comal County sheriff's office investigated him after a complaint of rape and sexual assault in New Braunfels, Texas, but Kelley was never charged. When he lived in Colorado in 2014, neighbors called the police after they witnessed him beating his dog; he was cited for animal cruelty. That year, sheriffs responded to a domestic-violence call at Kelley's home and checked on his then girlfriend, but left without filing charges. That girlfriend, Danielle Shields, became his wife soon afterward.

In recent months, Kelley's social-media accounts had grown darker. He lost his job as a security guard in July. It seemed like he was going through a romantic breakup. He posted pictures of his guns online. He sent threatening texts to his mother-in-law. It was her church in Sutherland Springs that he targeted for the massacre, in what Texas officials called a "domestic situation."

Which isn't surprising either. A majority of mass shootings between 2009 and 2016 involved domestic or family violence, according to an analysis by the gun-violence prevention group Everytown for Gun Safety. The group found that in 54% of incidents in which four or more people (not including the shooter) were killed with a firearm, an intimate partner or family member was among the victims. Most of those mass shootings happened in the home. But a TIME analysis of Everytown's data found that of the 46 mass shootings that took place entirely in public since 2009, 33% of the shooters had a reported history of violence against women.

James Hodgkinson, who injured Republican Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana and several others when he opened fire on a congressional baseball practice in June, had been arrested in 2006 after hitting and choking his foster daughter. Omar Mateen, who killed 49 people in the Pulse nightclub massacre in Orlando in 2016, had abused his ex-wife. Robert Dear, who killed three people and wounded nine others when he opened fire on a Planned Parenthood clinic in Colorado in 2015, had been accused of domestic violence by two of his ex-wives.

But in scientific terms, the link remains anecdotal. Just because mass shooters are often abusers doesn't mean abusers are more likely to be mass shooters. That's why the red flags appear only in hindsight: researchers lack sufficient evidence to prove the connection ahead of time. "Right now we don't have enough data to have a pattern," says Susan B. Sorenson, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania and director of the Ortner Center on Family Violence. Gun-rights advocates use that uncertainty to argue that tougher restrictions on gun access for domestic abusers are unnecessary. But that logic doesn't hold up either. "The one thing that we know that [mass shooters] all have in common is that they have access to massive firepower," says Sorensen. "That's the single unifying force."

PREVIOUS PAGES: EPA-EFE/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK; THESE PAGES: SCOTT OLSON—GETTY IMAGES

## The victims

The 26 people who were killed in the Sutherland Springs mass shooting:

Joann Ward, 30

Brooke Ward, 5

Emily Garcia, 7

Shani Corrigan, 51; Robert Corrigan, 51

R. Scott Marshall, 56; Karen Marshall, 56

Lula Woicinski White, 71

Tara McNulty, 33

Sara Johnson, 68; Dennis Johnson Sr., 77

Haley Krueger, 16

Peggy Warden, 56

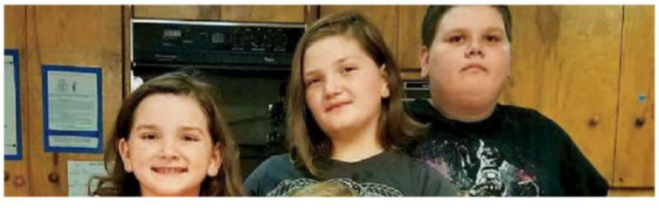
Therese Rodriguez, 66; Richard Rodriguez, 64

Annabelle Pomeroy, 14

Keith Braden, 62

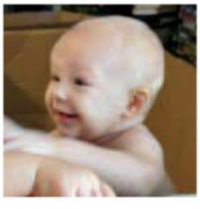
Bryan Holcombe, 60; Karla Holcombe, 58

Crystal Holcombe, 36 (pregnant)



Megan Hill, 9; Emily Hill, 11; Gregory Hill, 13

Marc Daniel Holcombe, 36



Noah Holcombe, 1

***'Our church was not comprised of members or parishioners. We were a very close family. We ate together, we laughed together, we cried together, and we worshiped together.'***

—SHERRI POMEROY, WIFE OF FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH'S PASTOR

Keeping guns from domestic abusers is a rare subject on which Republicans and Democrats mostly agree. "There are enormous problems with the background-check system," says Senator John Cornyn of Texas. Republican Senator Jeff Flake is teaming up with Democratic Senator Martin Heinrich to introduce a bill that would require the military to accurately record and report domestic-violence convictions. And Republican governors in Utah, North Dakota, Wisconsin and Michigan have taken steps to limit gun rights for domestic batterers. Experts say laws that require abusers to surrender their guns are particularly effective. States that have implemented relinquishment laws saw a 14% decline in intimate-partner gun homicides, according to researchers at Boston University and Duke University.

Nobody could have predicted the latest massacre. But there are laws to prevent people like Kelley from getting a gun. If only we would enforce them. —*With reporting by* W.J. HENNIGAN *and* NASH JENKINS/WASHINGTON *and* ABIGAIL ABRAMS/NEW YORK ◻

POMEROY: SEGUIN ISD; WARDEN: LEISA KUGLER; RODRIGUEZ: ALEXIS AMADOR; JOHNSON: GOFUNDME; REUTERS (9); FACEBOOK (5)

# *Making prayer safe*

BY ELIZABETH DIAS

THE WORD CAME IN THE MIDDLE OF Sunday-morning worship at River Oaks Church in Sutherland Springs, Texas. A gunman had stormed First Baptist Church two miles down the road. First responders raced from their pews to help their neighbors. Everyone else prayed.

But it was too late. For a congregation whose Sunday attendance averaged 50, the losses were catastrophic. "Most of our church family is gone," said the pastor's wife, Sherri Pomeroy, whose teenage daughter was among the dead.

The violence was all the more horrible because it felt so normal. Each new attack repeats the same sick liturgy. As mass shootings continue to touch every corner of public life in America, institutions including schools, malls and movie theaters are developing protocols to defend themselves.

That includes houses of worship. We grieve when a predator targets people in prayer, but it happens painfully often. In 2015, a white supremacist killed nine people at Charleston's Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church—a massacre that allegedly inspired a Sudanese immigrant to open fire at a Tennessee church in September 2017. This year, more than 100 Jewish community centers have faced bomb threats, and dozens of mosques have been targeted with violent threats or vandalism.

Even before the Nov. 5 shooting in Sutherland Springs, the Trump Administration was moving ahead with Obama-era efforts to train houses of worship on emergency security procedures. In 2013, in the wake of the Sandy Hook elementary school shooting in Newtown, Conn., the Obama White House directed federal agencies to develop active-shooter trainings. David Myers, director for the Department of Homeland Security's Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships at the time, worked to tailor them for religious communities. His team visited half a dozen cities for on-site trainings and held webinar sessions for hundreds of leaders of various faith communities. "It also served the purpose of creating relationships between faith leaders and first responders," Myers says.

*Twenty-six crosses, one for each of the dead, stand in a field on the edge of town on Nov. 6*

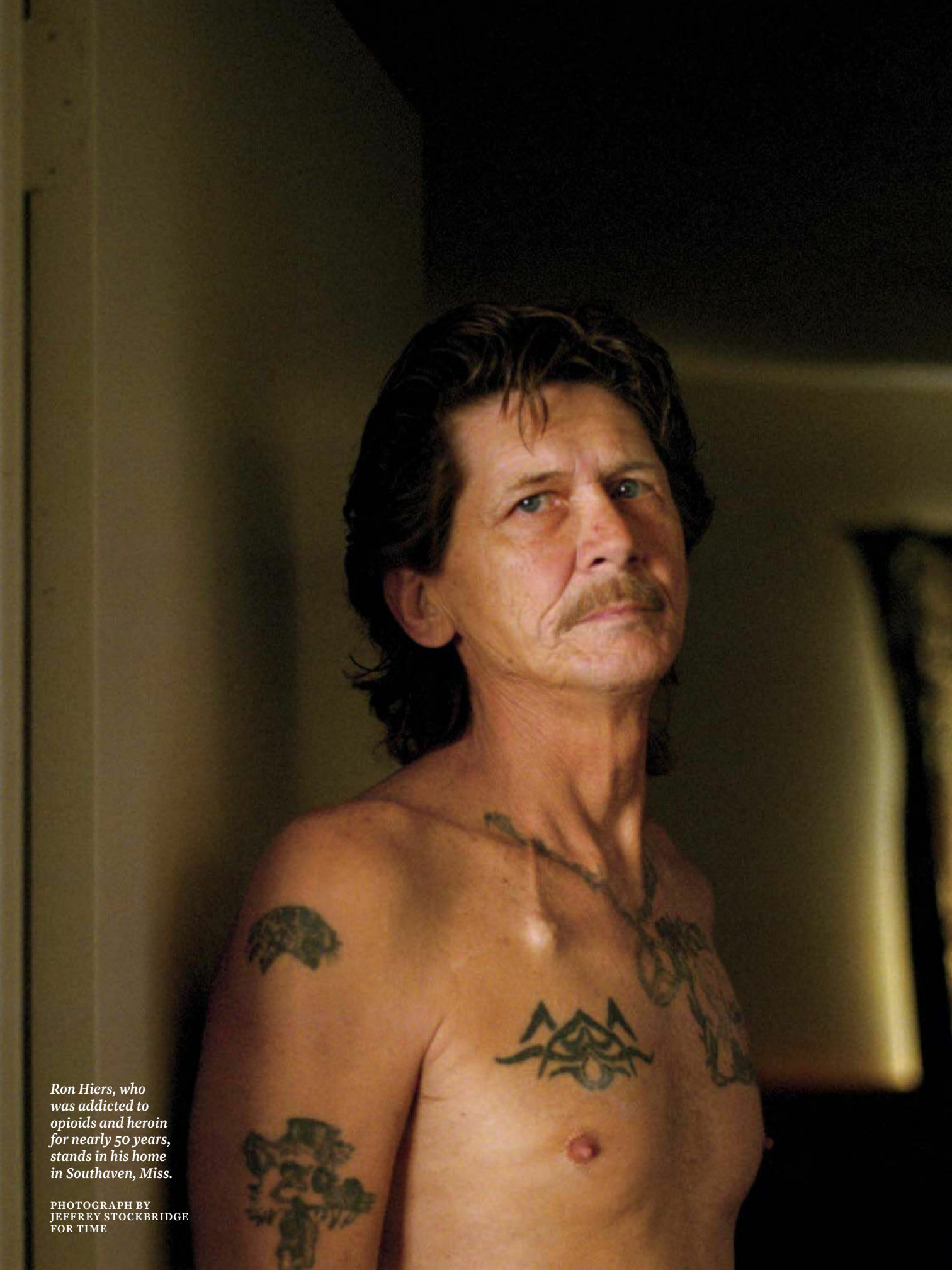
SCOTT OLSON—GETTY IMAGES

The Trump Administration is ramping up those efforts. Hours after the shooting in Sutherland Springs, Trump's new director for the same center, Jamie Johnson, told TIME that training religious leaders on security is one of his three top priorities. "We are going to be a whole lot busier in the months and years to come when it comes to safety and security for houses of worship," Johnson says. "This issue will now come to the forefront of the religious conversation in America."

So far this year, Johnson's office has hosted more than 15 in-person and virtual presentations on emergency operations plans for more than 1,500 faith and government leaders. Many of the recent programs have focused on large Christian networks, though there have been trainings for other religious groups as well. Johnson has spoken at the National Association of Church Facilities Managers conference in Nashville, the National Church Safety and Security Conference in San Diego and the Trinity Security Allies' inaugural Church Safety Conference in Florida. "We teach pastors and church executives to teach their members to be aware," he told TIME in August, "that not everyone who steps onto a church property has worship on their mind."

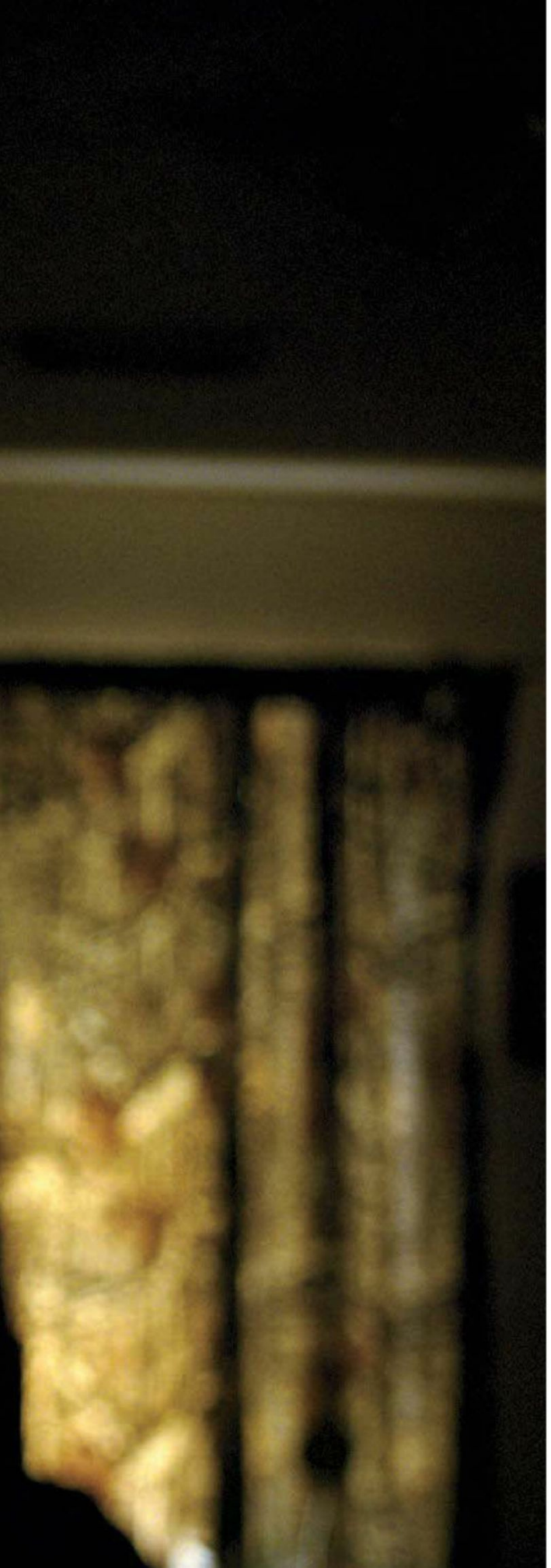
Robert Jeffress, the pastor of First Baptist Dallas and an outspoken Trump supporter, says his staff worked with DHS to complete a safety assessment several months ago. "Large churches like mine have done this, but smaller churches are less likely to do this under the mistaken assumption that they are not as big of a target as we are," says Jeffress. To protect his 13,000-person congregation, Jeffress has paid security officers at every service, both uniformed and plainclothes, as well as a volunteer security team. The church no longer allows worshippers to carry backpacks of any kind. But it does still permit them to carry arms. "It would be unthinkable in a state like Texas not to allow it," Jeffress says. "We think that is safer."

Other pastors are taking their own steps. Three days after the shooting, Samuel Rodriguez Jr., president of the National Hispanic Christian Leadership Conference, held a conference call for the thousands of Hispanic pastors in his network to develop security protocols. Now, he says, it is time for leaders to budget not just for children's or music programs but for security. "These churches have to pivot," Rodriguez says. "Nothing is sacred." ◻



*Ron Hiers, who was addicted to opioids and heroin for nearly 50 years, stands in his home in Southaven, Miss.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY STOCKBRIDGE FOR TIME





# THE LIFE OF AN ADDICT

After a video of their overdose went viral, a couple got a chance at redemption

BY ALICE PARK

THE VIDEO IS HARD TO WATCH. A MIDDLE-AGED man is bent backward over a bus-stop bench, eyes closed, head brushing the ground, with a cell phone in his outstretched hand. It rings, but the man doesn't move. A few feet away, dangerously close to the road, a woman lies facedown on the sidewalk, her legs buckled under her. She tries to get up but can't make it, and collapses back down in a heap.

The pair are in what's known as the medical district of Memphis, near a major academic hospital, but people walk by without a second glance. Others take out their phones and start recording. "Look, they on the good gas, man," says one of the people who streamed the scene to Facebook Live. Another starts an impromptu rap: "Percocet, she pop a Percocet, she on the Xanax."

The footage quickly went viral and was viewed millions of times.

The man in the video is Ron Hiers, and the woman is his wife, Carla. They had just picked up heroin and, too impatient to wait until they got home, walked into the bathroom of a nearby Walgreens and shot up. Then they headed for the bus stop, where they passed out.

It took a dose of naloxone—a drug that paramedics, emergency medical technicians and law-enforcement officers have started carrying because of the ballooning number of narcotic overdoses they

see—to revive Ron and Carla. They were taken to the hospital, and then police took Carla to jail for outstanding charges of petty theft. Ron found his way back home.

"I felt sorry for her," Ron says in his first extended interview, almost one year after the video was shot. "But I also thought, There's more for me." Ron says he injected Carla's portion of the heroin and then took what was left of his monthly prescription of Xanax pills, about four dozen of them, hoping they would put an end to more than four decades of pain and addiction. They almost did.

## "THAT'S WHAT DRUGS AND ALCOHOL WILL DO TO YOU. IT'LL TAKE YOU PLACES YOU CAN'T IMAGINE."

THE VIDEO OF RON AND CARLA'S OVERDOSE IS PART of a grim genre that has emerged alongside the deadliest drug crisis in American history. Every day across the country, nearly 100 people die from overdoses of opioids, powerful narcotic painkillers that attach to cells and dull pain, slow breathing and bring on an overall sense of calm and satisfaction. Since 1999, the rate of fatal prescription opioid overdoses in the U.S. has quadrupled. In 2015, drug overdoses claimed more lives than car accidents and gun violence and rivaled the HIV/AIDS crisis at its peak. The toll, as the White House commission on the crisis put it, is the equivalent of a new 9/11 attack every three weeks.

It is an epidemic without boundaries, touching every corner of the nation, every income group and virtually every age, including a baby born in opioid withdrawal every 25 minutes. In a September study on mortality in the U.S., researchers at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) found that opioids contributed to a decline in the life expectancy of Americans from 2000 to 2015. In some parts of the country, bodies pile up so quickly that medical examiners have resorted to storing the overflow in makeshift freezers when their morgues are full. In big cities and small towns alike, police officers are responding to more and more overdose calls, limiting their ability to address other crimes. Many firefighters now are expected to use naloxone, and are being called to revive addicts who overdose so frequently, they know them by name.

In response to the growing crisis, President Trump declared a national public health emergency on Oct. 26, which means federal agencies have 90 days to redirect existing resources to fighting the epidemic. It was a broad call to action, but one that failed to allocate much-needed new funding to address the crisis. The President's Commission on Combating Drug Addiction and the Opioid Crisis, which issued its final recommendations days after Trump's declaration, also stopped short of providing more dollars for the epidemic, while calling for measures such as tightening regulations on opioid prescriptions, expanding the use of drug courts as an alternative to incarceration and enhancing access to addiction treatments and overdose medications like naloxone.

As the epidemic has worsened, it's become clear that existing strategies and resources aren't sufficient. Many states already restrict how much opioids doctors can prescribe, and the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) took the unprecedented step last summer to pull from the market medications for which the addictive dangers outweigh the painkilling benefits. The agency, along with the CDC, is pushing for changes in the way opioids are prescribed, including limiting the number of pills doctors can prescribe at one time and restricting the conditions for which opioids can be dispensed. Pharmacies are also addressing the crisis; CVS announced this fall that it will reimburse its beneficiaries for only seven days of a prescription and will dispense only short-acting opioids and not long-acting versions to first-time users. And last month Walgreens announced that it will start selling the overdose-reversal drug Narcan over the counter—a move that can be seen as an acknowledgment of just how widespread the problem has become.

These efforts, however, have had unintended consequences. Restricting access to legal opioids has led to an explosion of illegal substitutes that have similar narcotic effects. Drugs such as heroin, fentanyl, carfentanil and U-47700 are cheaper and in many cases more harmful than legal opioids because they are synthetic formulations with no FDA standards for safety and quality control.

From 2002 to 2015, deaths from heroin overdose

OCT. 3, 2016

### AN OVERDOSE GOES VIRAL

A cell-phone video of Ron and Carla Hiers *(right)* passed out from heroin on a Memphis sidewalk was seen by millions after being shared online. The attention helped them enter recovery programs after decades of addiction.

**63%**

**PERCENTAGE OF DRUG-OVERDOSE DEATHS**

in the U.S. that are the result of opioids

increased more than sixfold, and in 2016, the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) reported more than 30,000 seizures of fentanyl, a dramatic spike from the 5,000 documented in 2014. The man-made formulas are so powerful that police officers participating in drug raids where fentanyl is confiscated have overdosed simply by breathing in particles of the drug released into the air. The opioid epidemic may have been sparked by prescription medications, but it's now a label for a much larger addiction crisis in the U.S., spanning dozens of drugs both legal and not.

The toll has been evident in Memphis, where Ron and Carla Hiers overdosed on that sunny fall day. Between 2010 and 2015, deaths from drug overdoses increased by 40%. But statistics can seem like abstractions, numbers to be glossed over rather than felt as actual loss.

Understanding how this crisis is upending lives, devastating families and changing communities requires hearing the stories of those with the most at stake. On Oct. 3, 2016, Ron and Carla became an official part of the grim record, their overdoses added to the several hundred tallied in the city that year, and to the tens of thousands documented for the country. "That's what drugs and alcohol will do to you," says Ron. "It'll take you places you can't imagine."

This is their story.

**FOR MORE, GO TO TIME.COM/ADDICTION**

*Watch a video documentary about Ron and Carla Hiers produced by TIME in collaboration with the digital media company Mic*

VIDEO: COURTLAND GARNER—FACEBOOK; CARLA HIERS: PAUL MOAKLEY FOR TIME

## "I CAN'T SAY THAT I REALLY EVER THOUGHT THAT I HAD A DRUG PROBLEM."

RON HIERS WAS BORN IN MEMPHIS IN 1955 WITH A cleft palate. Surgery corrected the birth defect but left him with a nasal twang that became a target of his classmates' ridicule. He says he was bullied throughout his schooling and had a knack for finding trouble. He was expelled from high school after a series of incidents, including threatening a teacher, and began drifting across the South, working in construction to stay afloat.

After he fell during a construction job and broke his heel, prescriptions for opioids like the pain reliever oxycodone became relatively easy to come by. Even after the bone had healed, Ron found a way to make it seem like the pain had returned—over and over again. "They can take an X-ray, but they don't know whether it bothers you or not, so I could always keep the pain meds going," he says.

When Ron couldn't get his hands on opioids, he turned to heroin, which had the same narcotic effect and was less expensive and often less of a hassle to obtain. "It was about as easy [to find] drugs as finding your shoe to put on in the morning," he says.

It was during a visit back home in Memphis, after Ron called one of his regular dealers to supply drugs for a party, that he met Carla. They quickly bonded over their shared addiction. "I don't remember [Ron proposing] because I was always medicated," Carla, 61, says today, more than 20 years after they met.

Like Ron, Carla says she began using drugs as a teenager, mostly to fit in, and found that she loved the way opioids made her feel. "It's a euphoric high, everything is O.K. with the world, and you just feel great," she says. "But as the years went on, the using got more intense, and it got to the point where I had to keep [using] because I was addicted to it, and if I didn't use, I would get sick."

Addiction is at its essence a hijacking. Parts of the brain that are dedicated to rewarding behavior and triggering feelings of satisfaction and calm are kidnapped by opioid drugs to induce a temporary state of ease and even euphoria. "The impulsive, reward-driven system of the brain goes into overdrive," says Dr. Sarah Wakeman, medical director of the substance-use disorder initiative at Massachusetts General Hospital.

Opioids are particularly adept at such snatching and seizing. The body has its own SWAT team that swoops in when pain erupts: receptors on nearly every cell in the body are primed to sound the alarm when you, say, put your hand on a hot stove or stub your toe. Opioid receptors populate cells not just in the body but in the brain and spinal cord as well. Their job is to tone down the firing pain signals—the fast breathing, the feeling of panic and the

excruciating feeling of *ouch!*—as quickly as possible. Opioid drugs target these receptors and magnify the body's natural painkilling response. For people with long-term, chronic pain, that can be essential to getting through the day. But the receptors are also intimately networked with the pleasure and reward areas of the brain. They are supposed to counteract the unpleasant feeling of pain with the opposite sensation. The catch is that for people already at risk for addiction, once the brain and body get a taste of the pleasure override, they want more.

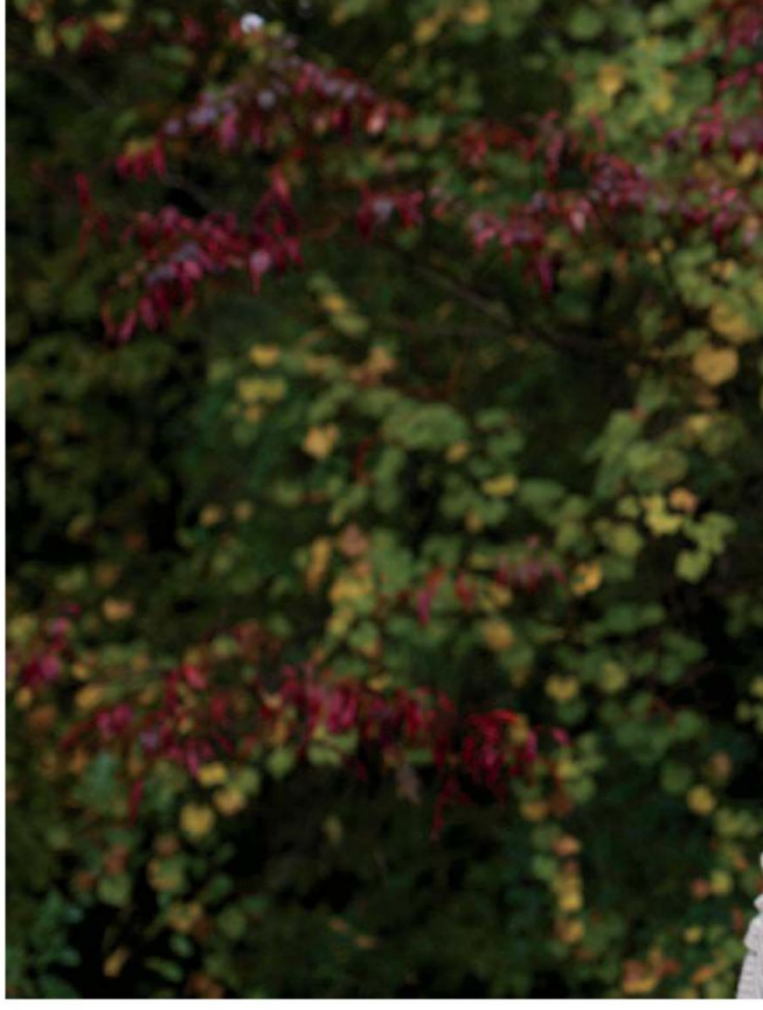
Neurologists now know that drugs like opioids can change the brain in people who develop addiction. Once the opioid receptors are activated in vulnerable brains, they stay activated, becoming the brain's bully, demanding all of the energy and all of the attention. The regions responsible for impulses and emotions take precedence over the thinking parts, which evaluate things like risk, benefit, consequences and delayed gratification.

And because opioids can release more dopamine, the feel-good sensations triggered by the drug overpower any positive feelings from things like food, love and even sex. "Opioids cause a higher rush of dopamine to the brain that cues the mind to pay attention to that," says Wakeman.

That's how opioid drugs become so addictive; they suppress pain with impressive efficiency, but they also prime neurons to seek and stay in that state of pain-free bliss. "It takes you to a state of nirvana," says Ron. "I can describe it best by saying that if you and your wife are in a house and your wife runs in the room and says, 'I just ran over the dog,' your response is, 'We'll get another one.' Nothing matters. Absolutely nothing. There's nothing you can say to me that can get me upset or alarmed. It buries your feelings so deep." In pursuit of that feeling, Ron and Carla took to forging prescriptions. They described their routine as if it were scripted: the pair would visit a hospital and Ron would pose as the patient, signing in with a made-up name and Social Security number and spinning a yarn about a toothache. He would ask for antibiotics, not painkillers. "That would throw the doctor on easy street, because I'm not in there asking for something for pain, like he generally hears," says Ron.

Eventually a sympathetic doctor would ask if he were also in pain and prescribe an opioid. It didn't matter which drug he prescribed, or how many pills. What Ron and Carla really wanted was his DEA number, which is required for filling any prescription medication for a controlled substance. While Ron was seeing the doctor, Carla would scope the nurses' station for the other critical part of their scheme: unattended prescription pads.

Carla got pregnant in 1995, and the couple used the doctor's visits as a way to fuel their addiction. While in the hospital, the Hiers managed to steal more prescription pads before urine and blood tests revealed Carla's opioid abuse.



*Paris Hardee, Ron's daughter, had cut him out of her life before the overdose video*

'HE WAS ALWAYS GOING TO CHOOSE DRUGS OVER HEALTH, OVER FAMILY, OVER FRIENDSHIPS.'

**PARIS HARDEE, RON'S DAUGHTER**

The hospital called Child Protective Services, but their daughter was born with a congenital heart defect that required her to be airlifted to a specialized children's hospital. After a court case, the Hiers say they ultimately gave up custody to a family that adopted their daughter as an infant.

Being deemed incapable of keeping their child did not jolt Ron and Carla into sobriety. "I can't say that I really ever thought that I had a drug problem," says Ron. "Your addiction don't let you think like that. Your addiction wants you to think that, Man, this is fine. You're doing O.K. This is normal; this is the way to live life. You're not doing nothing wrong."

Ron had three children before he married Carla, and while he has reached out to all of them since he became sober, not all of them have welcomed him into their lives. He says the daughter he had with Carla does not want a relationship with him. And he doesn't blame her. He recalls coming home with his first child to a ransacked house and a warrant stuck to the door for drug possession. When his second child was born, he says he left his wife while she was in labor to visit a strip club across the street from the hospital. He wasn't even aware he had a third child until a teenage boy called him and told him he was his son and asked to meet. Ron says he gave his son Xanax before sending him back home.

JEFFREY STOCKBRIDGE FOR TIME

## "NO DECISIONS THAT YOU MAKE ON DRUGS OR ALCOHOL ARE RIGHT, NONE."

PARIS HARDEE WAS ONE OF THE MILLIONS WHO watched the video of Ron and Carla's overdose. It was her birthday, and she was on her way to a celebratory dinner when a relative called to say her father had been on the news. She Googled the video and saw Ron sprawled across the bus stop. She wasn't surprised. "I made fun of him like everybody else," she says. "I was like, 'There's Ron's 15 minutes of fame.'"

Hardee, 35, is Ron's second child with his first wife. She was raised by Ron's parents when he proved too unreliable. She remembers her father only when he was high, asking her and his parents for money.

When she was about 8, Hardee says, Ron was arrested in front of her and her friends. "We lost all of our friends," she says. "Nobody's parents would let us play with them after that, and we had to move. That's really hard when you're in the third grade. I lost every friend I had, but I still thought he was a good guy."

Ron's parents worked hard to maintain their granddaughter's perception. They bought and wrapped birthday and Christmas presents for Hardee and her sister in their father's name and never openly discussed his problems. Still, Hardee couldn't help but worry about her dad, particularly when he called her from jail. "I was scared for him," she says. "I thought somebody would beat him up, and when I went to bed, I would worry about him a lot."

46%

**PERCENTAGE OF AMERICAN ADULTS**
with a friend or loved one who has struggled with drug addiction

For a while, Hardee tried to help. She wrote motivational notes on pieces of paper that she would put in his wallet, hoping they would remind him to not drink.

"It was like, 'Dad you can do it. I love you, and you're strong.' Just these little pieces of paper that I wanted him to pull out and read," she says.

Her father repaid her by stealing the birthday money and allowance she got from his parents. "He was always going to choose drugs over health, over family, over friendships," Hardee says. "He was going to choose drugs no matter what."

Hardee cut off contact with her father, keeping him out of her life for 13 years, during which she graduated from college and got married. She started referring to him as Ron rather than Dad.

That changed after she saw the overdose video. After her initial laughter, she couldn't shake the image of her father splayed across the bench, limp and unconscious. She had pushed him out of her mind for over a decade, but now couldn't stop thinking about the father who had never really been one.

The clip that had aired on the local news contained the number for Addiction Campuses, a for-profit drug-addiction treatment company with four locations across the country. Hardee dialed. "I was crying and I said to whoever answered, 'The man who OD'd in Memphis—that's my dad.'"

## "ADDICTS CAN SAY ANYTHING, ADDICTS ARE GREAT ACTORS, YOU KNOW."

ON THE OTHER END OF THE LINE, THE DISPATCHER for Addiction Campuses called Stacy Dodd, director of operations for their facility just over the Tennessee border in Mississippi. A former addict, Dodd saw an opportunity to help both Ron and the center. He offered to bring Ron in for a 30-day treatment and waive the typical fee, which can run up to $25,000.

Ron may have been at rock bottom, but he wasn't yet ready to look up. Several months before the overdose, Ron was diagnosed with tonsillar cancer. He says he continued to get high during his chemotherapy treatments, which he completed in July 2016, according to his medical records, snorting before and after his appointments.

On the first day of every month, Ron filled a prescription for Xanax that his doctor had written to help with his anxiety. There were nearly four dozen pills left in the bottle, and, he says, on Oct. 3, 2016, after being revived from the overdose that millions witnessed online, he took them all.

"I'd like to have died from the cancer," Ron says. "I was tired. I was sick of living. I got tired of waking up. I got tired of putting my shoes on. I got tired of reaching for my syringe. I got tired of going and getting money for dope, and I knew I just couldn't live without dope." It wasn't a new feeling for Ron. In his wallet, he carried a weathered scrap of paper

*Ron speaking with recovering addicts at Turning Point in Southaven, Miss., in May*

on which he had scrawled his own obituary. He left the date of his death blank.

Like many recovery and rehabilitation facilities, Turning Point, an Addiction Campuses facility, uses a combination of medication and behavioral therapy to help people overcome their addiction. Medication-assisted treatment, or MAT, involves using another opioid, like buprenorphine, to gradually withdraw an opioid addict from his dependence on the drugs. Unlike methadone, which is also used to treat opioid addiction, physicians can prescribe it without the need for a rigid clinical program for monitoring the recovering addict. It's less likely to trigger the addiction and reward cycles that morphine and opioid drugs do, but its use is controversial. Law-enforcement officers in particular have been skeptical of buprenorphine's usefulness, worrying that it amounts to replacing one drug with another in an addict's downward spiral.

Many doctors, on the other hand, see MAT as an essential part of stopping the addiction cycle, a way to break the brain's relentless search for more opioids. "The goal of medication is to relieve that mental obsession, the feelings of craving," says Wakeman, who believes MAT is the best way to help addicts who are on the road to sobriety. "We need to get people stabilized and restore their brain to normal function so they are able to think normally."

When Ron woke up on his first morning at the center, he wasn't sold on the idea of recovery. "My first thought was to get out of this damn place," he says. But when the elevator doors opened in the lobby, he saw that the center was coed. "I'm not trying to be funny. That's what my mind actually thought: there were good-looking girls there, so I was not leaving."

'THE GOAL OF MEDICATION IS TO RELIEVE THE MENTAL OBSESSION, THE FEELINGS OF CRAVING.'

**DR. SARAH WAKEMAN**

However shallow his reason for staying, Ron did. One day turned into two, and eventually he completed the 30-day program. The therapy included learning skills to help him and his fellow addicts divert their urge to act out of emotion, which often leads to reckless and compulsive behavior like drug use that ends up with their harming themselves or others, and instead adopt skills to control and turn those emotions and urges into positive reactions rather than negative ones.

After a few weeks in jail, Carla was released and called Hardee, looking for Ron. Hardee told her he was in a recovery program, and Carla, too, reached out and was offered a similar arrangement as Ron, but at the company's facility in Massachusetts. Because they had used together, the center thought they needed to recover separately. "I had to relearn my thinking, I had to relearn my dealings with people and to listen to people," Carla says of entering treatment.

Undoing decades of addiction is an ongoing process. For the first few weeks at the center, Ron told the counselors what he thought they wanted to hear. "Addicts can say anything, addicts are great actors, you know," he says.

Across the country, opioid rehabilitation has become a big business, claiming a growing chunk of the $35 billion industry for substance-abuse treatment. Recovery facilities typically provide 30-day programs, since that's what insurance plans tend to cover. It's enough time to wash the drugs out of the addicts' systems, but often not enough to arm them with the deeper skills they need to confront the forces that drove them to use in the first place. Relapse rates are high—addiction doctors say nearly every addict who enters treatment can expect to relapse.

PAUL MOAKLEY FOR TIME

Some recovery programs exacerbate the problem by treating addiction as an acute problem that can be solved with a one-time solution, rather than an ongoing disease. A rise in such programs has led the FBI to investigate centers that defraud addicts and their insurers, allegedly billing for services that aren't always effective and can set off a cycle of expensive recovery and relapse.

What recovery facilities do provide, however, is a forced period during which opioids are flushed out of the body, and for some, that's enough to expose some hard truths. It was for Ron. After nearly a month of sober living, Ron says he woke up one morning and asked himself two questions: Are you honestly happy? Do you want to kill yourself? "I couldn't answer the first with a yes, because I had an obituary in my freakin' wallet," he says. "But I also realized I honestly no longer wanted to kill myself."

That marked a change for Ron. That's when the skills the counselors were trying to teach him, and the perspective they were hoping he would gain, became more than an exercise to fill up the day. Gradually, Ron began to see his life for what it was—a squandered opportunity, a collection of people he hurt and abandoned, a series of delusions. "We're scared to death of being found out," he says of clinging to drugs. "I was most afraid of finding out who I was, because I never knew. I was scared to find out. I was scared to find out that I was probably not as tough as I thought I was. I was probably not as handsome as I thought I was. I was probably not as well-liked as I thought I was. I was scared to discover the truth about me."

After a month in treatment, Ron's first phone call came from Hardee. She begged him to stay longer, to continue working on his recovery. She knew that 48 years of addiction couldn't be wiped away in a month, so she made him promise to stay.

He promised. It was the first promise he made to anyone that he kept in a long, long time.

## "I WOULDN'T TRADE ANY DAY OF RECOVERY THAT I'VE HAD FOR A DAY OF ADDICTION."

RON STILL HAS THAT CELL PHONE THAT RINGS IN the video. He still has the numbers of his "dope boys," the dealers who, with a push of a button, would send him right back to the drug-fueled nirvana that sustained him for nearly half a century. He also has a new cell phone, with new contacts for people who have reached out since he's been in recovery. But he keeps that old phone and its numbers as a reminder. "I don't never want to forget where I came from," he says. "If I forget that, I could go back."

After more than a month at the recovery center, Ron moved into a halfway house. He now shares an apartment with people he met during recovery. There, his new talisman—replacing the 40 oz. bottle of beer that he says was "part of my outfit" for decades—is a blue Alcoholics Anonymous book, filled with his notes in the margins.

Hardee, whose phone call may well have saved her father's life, has gradually let him back into her world and introduced him to his grandchildren. Not long ago, Ron texted her at 2 a.m., seized with regret. "I just now wept with sorrow having finally realized how much I wouldev [sic] enjoyed loving my children their entire life [sic]," he wrote. He didn't expect an answer, but the next morning, Hardee replied. "Don't cry, Dad. I was really awkward until about 27. You didn't miss much. I love you so so much."

She is cautious, however, since he has been high for nearly 50 years and sober for just one. "I am part of his support system, but I have boundaries, and I have to maintain those boundaries for myself," Hardee says.

Ron still considers getting high every once in a while. But now his thinking brain takes over and quells the urge that rises from the deeper, baser brain that is ruled by the mission to feel good at all costs. And that, say addiction experts, is how recovery starts. For all the ways opioids can rewire the brain, it can be reversed when the hijacked pleasure networks are freed from the onslaught of drugs.

Close to the first anniversary of Ron's sobriety, Hardee is amazed by his transformation. "I have my father back," she says in a text message. "It is true that my childhood was rough, but now I'm blessed with a father who is growing and changing every day. Someone who did not know how to show love to himself or others is now, through God's grace, experiencing and giving love for the first time. That's a miracle!!"

Carla, too, lives on her own, but in an apartment in Massachusetts far from her old haunts. Raised as a Southern Baptist, she rediscovered her faith and says she's committed to building a new life. She continues to go to meetings and shares her story of recovery with others who are struggling with addiction. "I don't want to go back to Memphis. A lot of bad memories, a lot of bad things happened there," she says. Ron and Carla talk on the phone and over social media, but they haven't seen each other since their overdose. Both say they realize they are different people now and that the things that bound them together before are no longer a part of their lives.

Ron is hoping to become a recovery counselor, helping people like himself by his example. "Life shouldn't be taken lightly," he says. "It's a gracious gift meant to enjoy and not be squandered. I've come to the realization that I've wasted mine—you only get one, and I wasted it." It's a hard-won lesson, but one that is helping him make the most of whatever life he has left. "I wouldn't trade any day of recovery that I've had for a day of addiction since I've sobered up," he says. "The best thing I have now is peace." —*With reporting by* PAUL MOAKLEY/MEMPHIS ☐

2.1M

**NUMBER OF AMERICANS** who are addicted to opioids

10%

**PERCENTAGE OF AMERICANS** with a substance-abuse disorder who will receive treatment

✓Yes

✓Yes

✓Yes

✓Yes

✓Yes

xNo

✓Yes

✓Yes

✓Yes

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# TimeOff

CONVERSATION

## Two filmmakers reunite on Netflix

By Eliza Berman

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICAIAH CARTER FOR TIME

Spike Lee and Dee Rees first met at New York University's Tisch School of the Arts in 2005, where he is artistic director and she was a film student. Since then, Rees has become one of the most promising new voices in film with her debut, coming-of-age tale *Pariah* (2011), and *Bessie* (2015), an Emmy-winning TV movie about musical genius Bessie Smith. Lee, meanwhile, continued into a third decade of his prolific career with films like *When the Levees Broke* (2006) and *Chi-Raq* (2015). Now, in a reunion of sorts, both filmmakers have new projects debuting on Netflix. Rees' buzzy drama *Mudbound* (Nov. 17) is an epic tale about the intersecting lives of two families, one black and one white, living on the same slice of Mississippi farmland in the 1940s. Lee's new series, *She's Gotta Have It* (Nov. 23), is a fresh, episodic take on his groundbreaking 1986 film of the same name. On a warm September afternoon, the pair returned to the school where they met—and where Lee still teaches—to discuss their new projects, how they met and what they've learned from each other.

**TIME: Do you remember when you first met each other?**
**Rees:** Spike teaches master classes at NYU, and it was my second year. Everybody was scrambling to sign up for the class. He'll take on a couple students to be interns, and he was shooting *Inside Man*. At the end of the internship training period, there was a test: connect the film with the famous black director. I think I failed. But I got in anyway.
**Lee:** She was a hard worker. That's one of the things that comes to me first—talent levels, but also people who have a work ethic. We've always had internships. It's a big thing when people who want to be filmmakers get to go on a big set to see how things run.
**Rees:** The biggest thing I learned was endurance. If you've never done a feature shoot, you don't realize it's day after day after day. Getting up at 4 in the morning twice in a row is one thing, but three days in a row—it's hard.

**Spike, you've been teaching at NYU for almost 25 years.**
**Lee:** I love teaching. My parents are teachers, my grandparents. Family tradition. I know sometimes it can be an extra little something where students can learn from people actually doing what they're trying to do.

**Between *Mudbound* and *Miracle at St. Anna*, both of you have made films that take place during World War II, a genre that has historically been pretty whitewashed. Do you ever feel compelled to tell a story in part as a corrective to the narrative?**
**Lee:** It would take more than one film to correct that. The lack of representation of people of color, it's not just World War II but Vietnam, World War I, the Spanish-American War, Iraq.
**Rees:** I thought about my grandfathers, because both went to war, and when they came back, they didn't get things they were promised. My maternal grandfather went to World War II. My paternal grandfather, who's from Tennessee, went to Korea. The one from Tennessee ended up a janitor at the electric company, and the one who went to World War II got a job as a mail carrier. These black soldiers went, and there were no parades when they came back. It was like, "Get back on the back of the bus."

**Dee, what drew you *Mudbound*?**
**Rees:** The chance to tell both sides of the story. I wanted to make sure that the black family had an equal weight and we could see this kind of parasitic symbiosis, where they're all stuck in the mud. I wanted them to have an inner life and not just be there in service of the [white] family.

> 'Racism never disappeared for me. It's not this surprising new thing.'
>
> DEE REES, writer and director of *Mudbound*

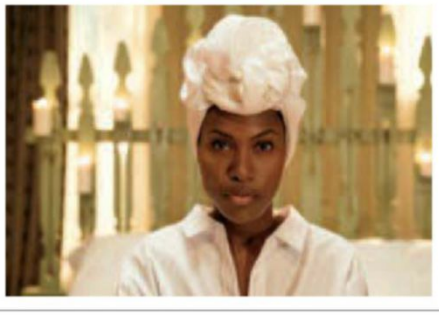
**Spike, of all your movies, what made you want to revisit this one?**
**Lee:** It was my wife's idea. I said, "Sounds like a good idea!" When Tonya suggested it, there was nothing for me to deliberate.
**Rees:** I was struck by the fact that [the film] was black and white, and it was about this woman's sexual liberation and how she was allowed to have this complicated life and not be judged. She's choosing. She's not chasing.
**Lee:** There was talk for a minute about making one episode black and white, but that was not a battle I was going to win. Also, this has to stand apart from what we shot in 1985, came out in 1986. The film was 86 minutes, so we had a lot more time in 10 episodes to explore who [the protagonist] Nola Darling is. In the film we just touch upon her being an artist. Now that's a major part. She is the struggling artist in gentrified Fort Greene, Brooklyn, who has to work four or five jobs and do her art.

**Gentrification was a big theme in the movie.**
**Lee:** In 1985, I don't remember hearing the word *gentrification*. My parents bought a brownstone in Fort Greene in 1968 for $40,000. Back then, realtors wouldn't even use the name Fort Greene. They would say "Downtown vicinity." It was black and Puerto Rican. And then these idiot real estate brokers come in trying to change names. South Bronx is now SoBro. They're trying to change the name of Malcolm X Boulevard. It's horrible.
**Rees:** And you saw it coming. There's a scene in *Do the Right Thing*—the white guy's jogging and he steps on the sneakers.
**Lee:** I wrote *She's Gotta Have It* in '85. I wrote *Do the Right Thing* in '88. I saw it coming.
**Rees:** When I moved to New York, right after Sept. 11, I moved to Fort Greene. I lived at Clinton and Myrtle.
**Lee:** It was "Murder Avenue" back then. Not Myrtle, *Murdah*.
**Rees:** The building I was in was all

REES: MICAIAH CARTER FOR TIME; MUDBOUND: STEVE DIETL—NETFLIX; SHE'S GOTTA HAVE IT: DAVID LEE—NETFLIX

**BREAKING OUT**
Rees' semi-autobiographical debut feature, *Pariah,* concerns a teenage girl coming to terms with her identity as a lesbian and struggling to come out to her family.

**LOOK BACKWARD AND FORWARD**
In *Mudbound,* right, Mary J. Blige anchors a cast that won a Gotham Award for Ensemble Performance. In *She's Gotta Have It,* below, Nola Darling (DeWanda Wise) is a talented artist balancing a career, romantic relationships and the social reality of 2017.



white. I only got in because the people selling it were a black couple, and they said, "We want to see you get it," so they let me make a lower down payment. That was the only reason I was able to go to film school.

***Mudbound* features a powerful scene involving the KKK, and this is 70 years ago. Here we are in 2017, and to many Americans, the Klan feels as visible as it's been in a long time.**

**Rees:** I grew up in 1980s Nashville, next to a Klan member. My dad would tell me, "So-and-so's a Grand Dragon." He was a cop, and that was the only thing we think made them leave us alone. They would have a Confederate flag as their curtain. Our next-door neighbor was a Klan member. I would play with their granddaughter. She could come to my house and play on my swing set, but I was never allowed to go to her house and play on her swing set. I was called "nigger." Racism never disappeared for me. It's not this surprising new thing. At Sundance, I overheard some guy saying, "The movie's good. The Klan scene was over the top, though." I think now, post-Charlottesville, he'll say, "The Klan scene's not over the top."

**Lee:** Plus, with Agent Orange in office, he's giving the green light to a lot of these motherf-ckers, the wink-wink, "Come on out now, it's cool." Trying to equate the alt-right Nazis and KKK with the other group. It's not the same.

**Rees:** We voted him in. What does it say about us as a country? We voted for it. We went for it.

**Lee:** The people in my show live in the world today. They live in a world where the murderers of Eric Garner are still walking. Where Agent Orange has the motherf-cking nuclear code. That's the world we live in. People are woke.

**Are there new genres you're eager to tackle?**

**Rees:** I'm doing [a horror film] with Blumhouse Productions. I loved *Get Out* and Jordan Peele. My partner and I moved upstate because we couldn't afford to buy in Brooklyn, so it's going to be a little bit based on being the only black women in an all-white town.

**Spike?**

**Lee:** Musical.

**Rees:** You already did musical! *School Daze*. That was my favorite.

**Lee:** That ain't full out. There were musical segments. I mean full out. ◻

*Souza was with Obama for all eight years, spending long hours in the Oval Office and Situation Room*

BOOKS

# Tales of a Photographer in Chief

**By Sarah Begley**

THE FIRST YEAR OF PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP'S Administration has brought changes for many Americans. For Pete Souza it has brought a total slowdown. No more lingering around the Oval Office or late nights in the Situation Room. "Nearly 1.5 million miles on Air Force One," Souza writes in his new book, *Obama: An Intimate Portrait*. "All 50 states; more than 60 countries. Just shy of 2 million photographs over eight years."

The former White House photographer, who documented President Barack Obama for both terms, has assembled photos that range from the historic (the Administration watching the Osama bin Laden raid) to the deeply personal (the President coaching Sasha's basketball team).

Plenty of Obama fans have already sought out these memories on Souza's Instagram account, where shots are often posted in razor-sharp contrast with the events of the Trump Administration. His feed has become a sort of visual resistance and a crash course on satire. In February, when it became clear that Trump's advisers were predominantly male, Souza posted a waist-down photo of Obama with three advisers—all wearing skirts. "Meeting with top advisers," he wrote. "This is a full-frame picture. I guess you'd say I was trying to make a point." In September, after the nickname-prone Trump dubbed Kim Jong Un "Rocket Man" during a standoff over North Korea's nuclear arsenal, Souza posted a photograph of Elton John in the Oval Office. Caption: "There's only one Rocket Man, here meeting with President Obama in 2015."

"You know, I think I'm a pretty funny guy. What can I say?" Souza says in conversation with TIME. But he's reluctant to talk about the posts. Asked about his motives, he demurs: "I like to let people draw their own conclusions."

The extraordinary level of access kept Souza on the job for all eight years. "The book is chronological, but when I do my public presentations, I do it sectionally," he says. "I have one section that I just call Interactions, and it's him interacting with different people, whether it was fist-bumping a janitor or meeting with Pope Francis. I think that's when you really see what a person is like."

Although Souza jokes in the introduction that he probably got on Obama's nerves, it's clear that the President revered Souza. Obama famously insisted that Souza hold his wedding in the Rose Garden, but his role in the nuptials went even further than that; as Souza recounts, Obama convinced him to propose in the first place. "I'd been together with my wife for a very long time. I think at that point it was, like, 17 years," he says. "We were sitting around the conference room one day and he just started badgering me about why wouldn't I get married. And he goes, 'Why don't you ask her to marry you, and then we'll have the wedding in the Rose Garden?'"

Souza and his wife followed up Obama's exit with a much-needed vacation on a music cruise headlined by their friend Brandi Carlile, and he's spent much of this year editing the book. "I think next year will be the year that I start really doing new photography, and I'm still trying to figure that out."

**GREATEST HITS**
*Obama: An Intimate Portrait* includes more than 300 photos from Souza's archives of almost 2 million images.

*Jones, who died last year, shown here in 2013*

JACOB BLICKENSTAFF; SOUZA: LAWRENCE JACKSON—THE WHITE HOUSE

MUSIC

# Sharon Jones, great as she ever was

**By Mike Ayers**

SHARON JONES NEVER THOUGHT she would be around to see the release of her Grammy-nominated 2014 album, *Give the People What They Want*. You can see it in her eyes, hear it in her quivering voice as she confesses as much to her bandmates the Dap-Kings in *Miss Sharon Jones!*, the 2016 documentary that followed her derailed career as she battled pancreatic cancer. Jones did see the album's release and its subsequent success. A dynamic performer, she soldiered on while she was in remission, until the cancer returned in '15, eventually taking her life last year at age 60. Now Jones' seventh and final album, *Soul of a Woman*, recorded partially while she was undergoing treatment, arrives on Nov. 17.

**FINAL ACT**
*Soul of a Woman* addresses old standbys like untrustworthy men and broken hearts.

Jones' music has always been rooted in the classic soul and funk of the '60s, with her powerful voice echoing Aretha, Otis, James and Gladys. She effortlessly mixed joy, heartache and spunk—and *Soul of a Woman* is no different. The album's opener, "Matter of Time," finds her looking at the world with a glass-half-full mentality, and several songs touch on the intricacies of love. But two tracks stand out, now that Jones is no longer with us. The jangly blues number "Searching for a New Day" seems to echo her life story as she sings, "And with my newfound fame I could lend a helping hand/ To all those in need however I can." And the album's final song, "Call on God," is an affecting and emotional call to a higher power.

Jones may not have caught a break in her career until later in her life. But *Soul of a Woman*, like her previous records, shows just how much greatness can be achieved in a short amount of time. ◻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"YEP, STILL CRUNCHY!"

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*McDormand's Mildred: Her face says more than any billboard could*

MOVIES

# A town without pity—or women

**By Stephanie Zacharek**

TELL SOMEONE YOU DON'T CARE FOR the work of English-Irish playwright and filmmaker Martin McDonagh *(In Bruges, Seven Psychopaths),* and you might be labeled a softie, a flower too delicate for McDonagh's bitter-bleak comic vision of human nature in all its scarred, lumpy glory. But maybe you're just wary of his shtick. In *Three Billboards Outside Ebbing, Missouri,* McDonagh brings his winking, ostensibly observant eye to the American heartland. Frances McDormand plays Mildred, an Ebbing local and grieving mom. Her daughter has been murdered, the creep who did it was never caught, and the case lies dormant. Mildred blames the local sheriff, Willoughby (Woody Harrelson). In her rage, she takes the matter into her own hands, inflaming dim-witted racist cop Dixon (Sam Rockwell) along the way.

Mildred favors one-piece workman's wear; her haircut looks to have been self-inflicted with a Flowbee. She says what she thinks, and it's usually not so nice. This is what, in writer's workshops, is generally called a well-rounded, fascinating character, though it's really just a belabored one. Still, McDormand's no-vanity performance is fun to watch, and Harrelson is terrific too. He canters through the movie breezily, and it deflates when he exits.

But *Three Billboards* is more arch than it is truly smart. This is life in a small American town as viewed by someone who seems to have spent no more than a few drive-through minutes in one. And even though *Three Billboards* is intended as a wry cartoon, not a realist tract, it still hangs by a precarious plot thread. Mildred seems to be one of only a few women in this town. If Ebbing had a female population of even, say, 50, wouldn't most of these women want a murderer caught? Yet McDonagh keeps grinding away at the fact that nearly all the locals loathe Mildred for her take-charge attitude. At one point a young woman throws a piece of garbage at her car. Mildred responds by kicking her below the belt. That's only one sample of the movie's allegedly transgressive humor. In the old days we called it a low blow. ◻

**WHERE IT BEGAN**
McDonagh's first six plays, including 1996's *The Cripple of Inishmaan,* were all set in the environs of Ireland's County Galway.

THREE BILLBOARDS: MERRICK MORTON—20TH CENTURY FOX; LBJ: ELECTRIC ENTERTAINMENT; ALIAS GRACE: JAN THIJS—NETFLIX

MOVIES

## Harrelson's LBJ feels like the real deal

WHO EVER THOUGHT WE'D be nostalgic for a President who had a fondness for barking orders to aides from the john? Rob Reiner's *LBJ,* starring Woody Harrelson, is Lyndon B. Johnson 101, roughly covering the period from the 36th President's swearing-in ceremony following the JFK assassination to his signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The picture's narrowed scope is a plus, giving Harrelson room to shine. He's somewhat hampered by doughy prosthetics—why not just let a good actor sink into a character, minus the distracting makeup?—but Harrelson gets the posture, the crabby, loping drawl and the overall get-it-done energy of LBJ just right. Johnson could be coarse and ill-mannered, but his political acumen and innate decency changed the country for the better. His crassness was also a kind of grace, a contradiction that Harrelson conveys beautifully, with a scowl that sometimes hides a smile—or the other way around. —S.Z.

*Harrelson as LBJ: Crass and presidential*

*Gadon endures Victorian-era punishment*

TELEVISION

## Feminism and grit on Netflix

ON NETFLIX'S NEW MINISERIES *ALIAS Grace,* we meet Grace (Sarah Gadon) humbled. It's been years since her 1843 conviction for murder; she's escaped death but not suspicion. A psychiatrist (Edward Holcroft) interrogates the former servant about her memories of the deaths of her former employer and his mistress, and Grace picks at her quilting as she answers.

But as we see just how ably Grace can shift between ways of being—from naif to knowing and back—whether to believe her story becomes a less compelling mystery than whether she herself believes it. Is the humility just a pose? (It's no surprise that the story is so novelistic; it's an adaptation of a book by Margaret Atwood.)

Gadon sells every flickering transformation. She's aided by Mary Harron's able direction and a juicy script by Sarah Polley. Together, these women have made an Atwood adaptation that's even more rewarding than Hulu's *The Handmaid's Tale.* That show draws upon history to imagine how women's rights might regress in a dystopia. *Alias Grace* makes the case more explicitly, showing how dark the past really was by depicting a woman her era could barely contain. —DANIEL D'ADDARIO

**ALIAS GRACE** *is streaming on Netflix now*

MOVIES

# Kenneth Branagh revives the world's greatest detective

By Kate Samuelson

IT MAKES SENSE FOR KENNETH Branagh to not only star as gumshoe Hercule Poirot in *Murder on the Orient Express* (out now), but to sit in the director's chair too. The detective—"probably the greatest in the world," the character modestly admits—is a master at manipulating the people around him. The 56-year-old director is similarly skilled at positioning his ensemble, which includes Judi Dench, Penélope Cruz, Michelle Pfeiffer, Johnny Depp, Derek Jacobi and Willem Dafoe. While fans of Agatha Christie's 1934 mystery and Sidney Lumet's 1974 adaptation may already know whodunit, Branagh has sleekly repackaged the tale, leaving its glamour intact. He sat down with TIME in London to talk about making the movie.

**Others have taken this story for a spin before. Did that concern you?** I'm so used to working with classic material that the notion that others have been there before doesn't feel intimidating, maybe because I wouldn't be doing it if I didn't feel some authentic and *now* reason. In *Murder,* it was the emotional charge, the death of innocence and the question of revenge and whether it can ever provide closure that got me going. The story is more than what Christie herself referred to as "mere entertainment."

> 'There was an almost talismanic quality to casting Judi Dench—as soon as she was in, other actors followed.'

**What's the Branagh take on Poirot?** His character in our version is melancholy and romantic, and he has a savant, childlike capacity to live in the moment. There's a deliciousness in presenting a man who both finds it ticklish to read a Charles Dickens novel but has also got this bloodhound, compulsive obsession for finding the truth. He is a sort of moral absolutist: there is right, there is wrong, there is nothing in-between. But by the end of the film he has to consider that perhaps there is significant material in-between that he now has to accommodate.

**This cast is impressive. How difficult was it to convene?** With hindsight, it feels like it was easy! There was an almost talismanic quality to casting Judi Dench—as soon as she was in, other

NICOLA DOVE—20TH CENTURY FOX (2)

*From left: Branagh as Poirot in a re-creation of an Istanbul station meant to capture the energy of boarding a train; Dench in period costume contemplating the crime*

actors followed. One practical issue was having them all together as often as possible. I told them I'd need a month in the middle for them all to be there, but I promised it would be fun. The sense I had from them was that they trusted that if I am, as some people have told me, an actor's director, then their performances would be cherished and looked after.

**How much was filmed on location in New Zealand, France, Malta and Switzerland?** At first, we thought we'd do everything in the real places, but we found it calamitously impossible. It's not easy to stop a train halfway up a French mountain and say, "Come back, Penélope's hair is slightly different." Then the French rail officials scream at you and say, "We're running a railway, not a movie company!" Having some 15 movie stars in period outfits with makeup and wigs as well as dogs, food, flowers and everything else meant bringing it back to our workshop. We were probably on set 80% of the time.

**Tell me about the striking shot that follows Poirot through train cars.** I wanted to invite people to feel the sense of excitement and urgency surrounding the journey. It felt like it should be a moving shot and that the actors should all be there at the same time. As Poirot passes through the train, things are being flambéed, Leslie Odom Jr. is taking photos, Penélope Cruz is re-entering the train, and Derek Jacobi's valet is ironing one of Johnny Depp's shirts. Somehow the life of the whole thing is in the swirl of the departure. We were rehearsing all day because there are so many variables. Each take took three or four minutes, and we did it around 17 times.

**Why did you use a 65-mm camera?** Without dissing the digital format, I feel there is an immersive, three-dimensional quality to 65-mm film. It's great for spectacles—if you have big landscapes, everything is sharper and deeper. It's also great for the human face, as the silver in the celluloid moves, as opposed to pixels, which are locked in. That works well in a movie about the forensic search for the truth. *Dunkirk* was the same; myself and [director] Christopher Nolan continue to bang the drum for the texture, quality and density of 65 mm.

> 'Both detective and director are truth seekers. An odd blink may suggest a lie has been told, or a kind of fib in the performance itself.'

**How does one direct himself?** Daisy Ridley's character points out that Poirot places people in different environments to intentionally unsettle them or make them reveal things, which I suppose are directorial choices as well. Both detective and director are truth seekers. An odd blink may suggest a lie has been told, or a kind of fib in the performance itself.

**How has your experience directing theater informed your film directing?** One of the challenges of the movie is that there is almost a mathematical precision to the introductions, the crime, the interviews and the solution. It can feel like one thing after another. My work in the theater has allowed me to understand how best to maximize the theatrical effect. Mostly the theatrical experience has been about having a confident approach with actors, to feel some of the play at work and the trust between director and actor to produce a sense of freedom. It's a theatrical event in a film if you've got 15 actors and you say, "We're not going to rehearse. I'm going to start shooting." They know that's a little play in those two minutes.

**Did you learn French for the role?** I tried, but I was hopeless. Booking a room with a shower and a bath was the kind of level I was reaching. I'd speak my version of French at home. The character in my life who got it the most was my little Jack Russell, who was totally indifferent to the challenges in my day and seemed to respond to my instructions as well in French as he did in English—which is to say, not well at all.

**What about this story do you think makes it timeless?** We find out in the movie who did it, how they did it and why they did it—and we infuse the why with a lot of passion. But the moral question was, What is justice now? "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," if taken to its logical conclusion, leaves no one standing. Where do we draw a line? Poirot says early in the film, "We must be better than the beasts," but he understands that primal urge. The articulation of that feels like a modern kind of issue. Audiences wanted it to be complicated. They didn't want Poirot merely to solve and then walk away. □

# Master of none: Or, how we learned the dogs are secretly in charge

**By Kristin van Ogtrop**

I'M NOT SURE ABOUT YOU, BUT EVEN AFTER A DIZZYING FEW weeks of national news, I'm still obsessed with Lulu, the would-be CIA explosive-sniffing dog who broke the Internet in October when the agency kicked her out. In its solemn statement, the CIA explained that, after some training, it was clear that the black Labrador retriever puppy "wasn't interested in detecting explosive odors." And so, the CIA said, "we are sad to announce that Lulu has been dropped from the program."

"Dropped from the program." As if! Dear CIA: You've been hoodwinked. When I am sad or bored, I imagine the CIA statement written from the perspective of Lulu, who has been adopted by her handler. "Hello world, I am SO psyched to announce that after sniffing for explosives for an eternity, I am over it. Why should I look for bombs when I could be napping on wall-to-wall carpeting at home and rolling in dead things at the park? Peace out, Cub Scouts!"

**BUT THAT'S JUST ME** and my overactive imagination. Why did the rest of the Internet care about Lulu? Was it because, as the New York *Times* wrote, "her story just sounds familiar to any American who has experienced workplace ennui"? Or was it because, for Lulu's 15 minutes of fame, the shades fell from our eyes and we realized that it's the dogs who are in charge? That they're just pretending to obey, while getting exactly what they want? It's like that moment at the end of *The Usual Suspects* when you realize the dopey guy who was sitting across the desk for nearly two hours may actually be Keyser Söze, elusive mastermind. And then the earth shifts on its axis, just a smidge.

We all have encountered souls—real and fictional—who object, drop out, declare "I would prefer not to," like Melville's unforgettable Bartleby the Scrivener. From Bartleby to Jerry Maguire to Senator Jeff Flake, there is something heroic in "I would prefer not to." Is it passive? Maybe it seems that way; look closer and you see that it's a seizing of control.

This fall my family adopted our fourth dog: our fourth Labrador retriever, our fourth snap decision that has resulted in a giant, lasting responsibility. Our fourth shedding bundle of unconditional love—floor soiler, grass destroyer, indoor-plant chewer, area-rug demolisher. The fourth creature who has brought a little bit of headache and a huge amount of joy into our lives after saying "I would prefer not to" to the life she was meant to lead. Our Labs have all been service-dog dropouts, though "released puppy" is the official—and kinder—designation that Guiding Eyes for the Blind, the wonderful organization that breeds these dogs, gives to its lovable failures. When we were contemplating whether to

adopt this one, there were a few issues to consider: She was female. (We've always had males.) She was 4 months old. (We've always adopted at 2 months.) Her first adoptive family was giving her back (!). She had, well, a lot of personality: rumor was that when you gave her a command she didn't like, she would just look up at you. And bark.

Oh, how my children and husband and I laughed when we heard that. That little willful detail is probably what sealed the deal. And now here she is, lounging underfoot with her 5-year-old refusenik brother, exercising control over my schedule and understanding of the world. To wit: this morning I left the kitchen for all of 10 minutes and returned to find the puppy's previously sealed dog food bag wide open. The dogs were lying together on the floor three feet away, feigning nonchalance. I asked them who had opened the bag and just how much they'd eaten. They both looked at me indignantly. As if, their eyes were saying. As if we would actually tell you.

**IF THERE IS SUCH A THING** as a canine conscientious objector, my dogs are it. Like Lulu, my guide-dog dropouts all decided, for various reasons and in their own ways, to reinterpret the call of duty. And like Lulu, they know they have a higher purpose. Lulu may just be the pacifist putting the carnation in the rifle: she wants to make love, not war. My own dogs' higher purpose is to provide moments of pure joy, whether it's with a head in a lap, a lick of the palm or the crazy-happy sight of them chasing one another around the dining-room table, our own domestic demolition derby. To provide us with the steady sense that they understand what really matters in life. Even if they prefer not to tell us.

*Van Ogtrop is the author of* Just Let Me Lie Down: Necessary Terms for the Half-Insane Working Mom

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## **Mavis Staples** The soul singer and civil rights activist talks collaborating with Bob Dylan, memories of Martin Luther King Jr. and new album *If All I Was Was Black*

**You've made 15 studio albums. What inspired you to get back into the studio?** We're living in trying times right now. What I'm seeing on the news really makes me feel like I'm back in the '60s. These are songs that will inspire people to do better, to love one another, to come together.

**One of the songs goes, "There's evil in the world, and there's evil in me," and you go on to say you're going to "try harder." What do you mean by that?** We should try harder to love one another. I feel compassion, and I want you to feel the same compassion. We have a man in the White House who has started a resurgence of bigotry and hate. The way he talks and the way he portrays himself—what he says doesn't make sense, it doesn't make good sense. And it's spreading. It's spreading.

**Another song, "We Go High," references Michelle Obama's 2016 Democratic National Convention speech. Why did you include that line?** When she said that, I just jumped. It's something that we as black people do. When they call us names, when they talk about us, when we get knocked down, we don't stay down. We get back up.

**You have this persistent optimism. What's your secret to staying hopeful?** I just believe. It's not just for black people, what I'm singing about. It's to bring us all together. I've seen us have a black government; that's something I never thought I would see. As far as us coming together as one, I'm gonna keep on praying. But I don't think I'm going to see us coming together like that in my lifetime. When I saw that man marching in Charlottesville with torches, my mind was going, The next thing they're going to do is torch a cross. I've seen burning crosses. The only thing that's different is that the Charlottesville marchers didn't have white sheets over them. My heart gets heavy, but when I sing these songs, I get lifted.

**What's it like to work with Jeff Tweedy as a producer and writer when you're making this music?** He didn't want to release the song "If All I Was Was Black." And he definitely didn't want it to be the title of the album. So I had to tell him, "Tweedy, you are black. You know me inside out, and I know you. You're black." Jeff Tweedy is a person who has beauty and good in his heart. This is my third album with him. He's a poet.

**You're heading on tour with your longtime friend and collaborator Bob Dylan. Why do you like working with him?** We met when I was 17 and Bobby was 16. He's a good friend, and this is what friends do. We come together.

**I've heard that you were once more than friends.** We were courting. And we would snuggle every now and then. He proposed, but I felt like I was too young. I'm older now. I just might propose to him! I don't know what might happen. The world would be shocked if Bob and I got married, so I won't do that. I'm just happy we're friends.

**Do you ever get tired of the constant grind from all the work you're doing?** I've been doing this since 1960. When we met Dr. King in church, my father told us that if he can preach it, we can sing it. We've been singing the message-songs ever since. Every year people tell me, "Mavis, my goodness, when are you going to retire?" I'm almost 80 years old. But I'm not ready to retire. This is what God wants me to do. My voice is as strong as ever. —RAISA BRUNER

> 'He proposed, but I felt like I was too young ... The world would be shocked if Bob and I got married, so I won't do that. I'm just happy we're friends.'

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